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SEVEN PEASANT COMMUNITIES IN

A comparative study of
French, Italian and Swedish rural parishes
(18th and early 19th century)

This dissertation is submitted in
partial fulfilment of the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy of the University of
Cambridge.

Emmanuel Todd
Trinity College
University of Cambridge
1976



This dissertation is the author's original contribution to the study of Central American history. It is a study of the social and economic changes which have taken place in the region since the beginning of the twentieth century. The author has been fortunate in having been able to visit the region several times, and to have had the opportunity to study the primary sources of the region. The result is a work which is both a study of the region and a study of the changes which have taken place in the region. The author's work is a contribution to the study of Central American history, and is a study of the changes which have taken place in the region since the beginning of the twentieth century.

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Preface

This dissertation is the outcome of research carried out at the University of Cambridge between October 1971 and December 1975. No part of it has been or is being submitted for a degree at another University. It is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. Part of Chapter III has already been published in the French review Annales (Economies-Sociétés - Civilisations) as 'Mobilité géographique et cycle de vie en Artois et en Toscane au XVIIIème siècle' (July - August 1975).

The dissertation does not exceed 80000 words. According to my calculations it is about 70000 words long. The results presented in it and the conclusions derived from them are, to the best of my knowledge, original, except where reference is made to the work of others.

I am grateful to Trinity College (Cambridge) for providing financial support for this work. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Mr. Peter Laslett for his interest and encouragement during the course of the work. I would also like to thank all the members of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure and especially Dr. Schofield, Dr. Wrigley, Richard Wall and Karla Oostervan for their help and advice.

Special thanks must go to my tutor Dr. Seal who has encouraged me whenever it was necessary in the course of my research.

Sincere thanks must also go to Pierre Bougard, Directeur des Archives départementales du Pas de Calais, to Anna-Christina Meurling, of the Landsarkivet i Lund, to Mr. Del Panta, Mr. Livi-Bacci and Mr. Corsini of the Dipartimento Sperimentale Statistico Matematico of the University of Florence, and Professor Le Roy-Ladurie of the College de France.

Emmanuel Todd.

Emmanuel Todd

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INTRODUCTION

The development of peasant history

A large majority of the population of Europe before the industrial revolution were peasants living in small communities; villages, hamlets, or even isolated farms. As they left almost no written records such as diaries, very little is known about their lives. Only specific research techniques can provide an accurate description of the life of ordinary people in the past. However, research on the peasant communities of the past is now a flourishing branch of social history.

The manors and the states have produced through the years a considerable amount of documentation which makes it possible to reconstitute in great detail the agrarian organization of many pre-industrial peasant communities. Much is now known of the agrarian history of Western Europe. The description of the economic system and its changes was the first stage in the research process.

Historical demography is the second major breakthrough. We now have - or shall soon have - a fairly precise knowledge of demographic conditions in the past. Parish registers have recorded, from the 16th to the 19th century, millions of births, marriages and deaths of European peasants. These documents provide a wealth of information on the life of ordinary people, on some aspects which seemed, fifteen years ago, buried in the past forever: family life, sex

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life, literacy.

Another type of record will probably lead us to an even deeper understanding of peasant life: judicial records of all kinds, whether lay or ecclesiastical, reveal the conflicts within the community or the tensions between the peasants and other social groups. The first major work using judicial records as its main source of information was Homans' English villagers of the 13th century which gave a fascinating description of the family customs of husbandmen. Innumerable historical problems can be solved by a careful investigation of judicial records: for every topic, a frontier between normal behaviour and deviancy can be defined. The study of conflicts, normality and deviancy, clearly represents the third stage in the development of peasant history. However, these records have their weak points: the main one is the amount of time required for their analysis. It is difficult to base quantitative work on documents which are not sufficiently standardized. Comparisons between times and places are therefore difficult.

The present essay clearly belongs to stage two: the technique and the evidence used are derived from historical demography. Its main sources of information are parish registers and early nominative listings. It is concerned with elements of the social structure familiar to social anthropologists and sociologists: the family, marriage, the life cycle of individuals, the relations between groups

and classes within the communities, geographical mobility. The technique used here for the analysis of these variables is of course different from that developed by social scientists. Historians cannot rely on questionnaires and interviews.

Many aspects of the social life of peasant communities in the past have left no trace in historical records. Most peasants left no diaries and their feelings and opinions cannot therefore be studied directly. The documents I am using, registers of births, marriages and deaths, and listings of inhabitants make it possible to study peasants from outside. We can see whether they lived in small or large families, whether they moved a great deal, whether kinsmen tended to stay close to one another. All these measurements are really concerned with the relative positions and movements in space of individuals. We have to deduce from these dry facts what their feelings and opinions might have been. If, for example, we find a large proportion of nuclear families in a given community, and if we know that no other factor - economic, political - implied the existence of small families of man, wife and children, we can conclude fairly safely that the peasants preferred to live in nuclear families. More generally, whenever we want to reach a conclusion on the feelings and opinions of the peasants of the past, we have to rely on indirect evidence and reasoning of this kind.

The information on peasant attitudes and opinions that we can extract from parish registers and early census listings is poor. Choice of godparents, however, did put illiterate peasants in a position to express their preferences. A careful analysis of choice of godparents makes it possible to reach some fairly precise and direct conclusions on peasant attitudes towards kinship, on the nature of the relations between social classes, on relations between villages. The names of the godparents chosen, year after year, by members of the communities have been recorded. We can therefore know whether peasants preferred kinsmen as godparents, whether they chose people of their own class or wealthier members of the community or even outsiders from other villages or from the town.

Choice of godparents will be used as a substitute for the sophisticated questionnaires used by sociologists to trace social relations. For instance, to evaluate the importance of kinship, instead of asking people how often they have contacts with kinsmen and in what circumstances, we shall have to measure the proportion of kinsmen chosen as godparents at christenings.¹

¹ Examples of such questionnaires on contacts with kinsmen: in International Journal of Comparative Sociology. Volume VI, number 1. March 1965. Special number on kinship and geographical mobility. Several articles use questionnaires as main source of information. See for instance:

Hubert J. Kinship and geographical mobility in a sample from a London middle-class area pp. 64-80.

Gutkind P.C.W. African urbanism, mobility and the social network pp. 48-60.

Osterreich H. Geographical mobility and kinship: a Canadian example pp. 131-144.

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Oscar Lewis in his comparative study of an Indian and a Mexican village reaches the conclusion that emphasis on local community feelings and emphasis on kinship are somewhat contradictory.¹ In Tepoztlan (Mexico), people insisted on the fact that they belonged to the village community. A measure of aggressivity towards neighbouring villages could be observed. On the other hand, where kinship is the important principle of organization, no such aggressivity seems to appear. In Rampur (India), where kinship links established permanent relations with other villages, no rivalries between different communities were apparent.

Of course, we cannot obtain direct evidence on the feelings of eighteenth century peasants. What we can do is to compare the proportion of kinsmen among godparents (as a substitute for questions on the importance of kinship) and the proportion of outsiders from other villages among godparents (as a substitute for questions on relations with other communities). This method makes it possible to reach, in a number of cases, conclusions similar to those proposed by Lewis.

¹ Lewis O. Village life in Northern India. Studies in a Dehli village. Chapter 9.

Complete references of books and articles are given in the bibliography.

Paradoxically, historians avoid one of the main problems encountered by social anthropologists: the discrepancy between what people think and say they do, and what they actually do. As they do not interview people, historians can only observe how peasants actually behaved: what proportion left the village and at what age, who lived close to whom, and so on.

This research technique of course leaves aside the opinions on peasants and the peasantry left to us by members of the literate classes of the past. These opinions, which can be found in diaries, printed essays and novels, must be treated with caution. They can provide valuable evidence but are sometimes biased and must be checked against more neutral and dry documents such as parish registers and census listings. It must also be noted that eighteenth and early nineteenth century opinions tend not to be quantified and do not make it possible to compare several types of community with accuracy.

But in fact, works based on opinions and attitudes extracted from diaries, essays and novels tend to concentrate on the upper sections of society, middle-class and nobility mainly, and usually leave aside the peasantry altogether.¹

¹ Several examples can be given:

Ariès E. L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime

Hunt D. Parents and children in history. The psychology of family life in early modern France.

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In a number of particular cases, historical documentation can provide better evidence than direct observation and interviewing. The study of geographical mobility is probably the best example. In the present dissertation I use annual censuses covering periods of five or ten years, combined with registers of births and deaths, in order to obtain a precise measurement of geographical mobility. An anthropologist or a sociologist rarely spends more than one year or two in a particular community and cannot take five or ten annual censuses. As a consequence, anthropological literature usually does not deal very extensively with the question of geographical mobility.

However, we must admit that we cannot hope to obtain an exhaustive study of a peasant community of pre-industrial Europe as rich and detailed as the monographs proposed by social anthropologists and rural sociologists.

Some aspects of the social structure analyzed in the dissertation are already familiar to historians. The basic methodology for the study of household structure is firmly established and chapter 2 simply adds new evidence to the already vast amount of data collected and analyzed in the past ten years.¹ It also confirms the most recent generalizations.²

¹ See for instance: Family and household in past time Laslett P. editor Cambridge 1972.

² Berkner L.K. Rural family organization in Europe. A problem in comparative history.

Other aspects such as age specific mobility, kinship networks and choice of godparents are less familiar although far from unknown to historians. Pioneer works can be found in the cases of geographical mobility (chapter 3) and choice of godparents (chapter 6).¹

So far, historians have not attempted the analysis of the kinship networks of peasant communities. The study of kinship is usually considered as important by sociologists and social scientists. They have developed a fairly detailed methodology but specific research techniques must be elaborated if we want to reconstitute the kinship networks of the peasant communities of the past. We must find a substitute for the interviews carried out by social scientists. Such a technique is presented in chapters 4 and 5.

The relative poverty of the information an historian can gather on past peasant communities makes it easier

¹ Geographical mobility:

Laslett P. Le brassage de la population en France et en Angleterre aux XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles. Comparaisons préliminaires de villages français et anglais. 1968

Blayo Y. La mobilité dans un village de la Brie vers le milieu du XIXème siècle, 1970

Schofield R. Age specific mobility in pre-industrial England, 1970

Godparents:

Mogensen N.W. Aspects de la société augeronne aux XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles, 1971.

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for him to carry out systematic comparative studies. A social scientist can really be overwhelmed by the very wealth of documentation: innumerable variables make it difficult, impossible perhaps, to compare systematically two or three different peasant communities. The amount of time necessary for the collection of the data is also a major obstacle: one cannot expect social anthropologists or rural sociologists to spend several periods of one, two or three years in different communities. It takes much longer to carry out interviews than to work on already elaborated administrative records. It must be pointed out, however, that rural sociologists can often rely on administrative and historical records.¹ But these simply increase the wealth of information already obtained by interviewing.

As a consequence, comparative analyses of two or more communities by the same research worker are not very numerous in the field of social anthropology and rural sociology. Oscar Lewis is a notable exception. He compared systematically an Indian and a Mexican village.²

It is in a way much easier for an historian to tackle such a task because the number of variables he can hope to study is much smaller.

¹ For instance Williams W.M. in The sociology of an English village: Gosforth.

² Lewis O. Village life in Northern India. Studies in a Dehli village.

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The present dissertation is mainly an attempt at providing comparable descriptions of the social structure of several peasant communities in various Western European countries. Research on peasant history has been progressing very rapidly over the last twenty years but the results obtained by research workers all over Europe are not always strictly comparable. The quantified descriptions presented here make it possible to compare French, Italian and Swedish peasant communities with great accuracy. The evidence is derived from some of the most standardized documents left to us by pre-industrial Europe: parish registers and nominative listings of inhabitants, chronological lists of births, marriages and deaths, and early census records. Parish registers and early census listings can be found in most of the countries of contemporary Europe. Local priests generally began to keep parish registers towards the end of the sixteenth century. Nominative listings were less numerous in countries like France and England, but very common in Italy and Sweden. There are no major differences between French, Italian and Swedish parish registers and listings of inhabitants: this explains why results obtained from very different cultural areas - catholic and protestant, economically advanced or backward - can justly be compared. A set of indices - the geographical mobility indices, or the percentages of complex families - can be calculated for French, Italian and Swedish peasant communities. Comparable records lead to comparable data.

Most of the results presented in the dissertation are 'quantified', that is to say described by quantitative indices. The variables are continuous as they can "take any mathematical value, including a fractional one, within the range of the distribution. A discrete variable, however, can only take values which differ among themselves by certain fixed amounts".¹

For instance, in the present essay, the proportions for each type of family (simple, extended ... etc) can take any value between 0 and 100%. In some cases, however, discrete variables will be found; the type of settlement is a good example. Villages are distributed into a crude three category classification. A village is considered as nucleated, composed of scattered hamlets or of isolated farmsteads. The variable "type of settlement" can only take three values.² But most of the variables presented here are continuous.

In Murdock's World Ethnographic Sample one finds discrete variables which can only take two, three, four, a limited number of values.³ For instance, in an article derived by M.F. Nimkoff and Russell Middleton from the

¹ Reichmann W.J. Use and abuse of statistics page 208.

² On the typology of rural settlements (nuclear and linear, hamlets, scattered farms) see Smith C.T. An historical geography of Western Europe before 1800, Chapter 5 and Meynier A. Les paysages agraires.

³ Murdock G.P. World Ethnographic Sample.

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World Ethnographic Sample, family organization is described as either 'independent' or 'extended'. In any community, family structure is considered as either independent or extended. No distribution into the two categories is given; only the predominant pattern is presented as typical of the society. Family structure (the variable) can only take two values: independent, extended.¹

The World Ethnographic sample summarizes the results gathered by social anthropologists all over the world. It is bound to be crude because of the difficulties met in comparing the conclusions of different research workers in different communities.²

Generally, the study of rules produces discrete variables and the study of actual behaviour implies the use of continuous variables. Theoretical rules usually lead to absolute statements of the kind: "kinship is important in our community and we have a precise system of classification". A limited number of systems of classifications are likely to be considered as the values that can be taken by the variable. The kinship system will be classified as patrilineal or matrilineal, families will be simple or complex, and so on.

But if we observe actual behaviour we have to count the number of extended and of simple families, we have to

¹ Nimkoff M.F. and Russell Middleton Types of family and types of economy.

² On Murdock and 'discrete' variables see Barnes J.A. Three styles in the study of kinship.

measure the frequency of contacts between kinsmen, the frequency of various types of marriage. The results are not likely to produce 0 or 100% of extended families, of patrilocal marriages; these values will probably lie somewhere between the two. And this provides us with a continuous variable.

A quantified index calculated for two villages makes it possible to compare these two villages. However, in this essay we are not dealing with two villages but seven. If we take the villages two by two the number of comparisons that can be made increases much faster than the number of villages. Let us consider index A (which can represent a degree of complexity of household structure, a mobility index, or a kinship density). If one number is representative of one community and if we want to compare the communities two by two the number of possible comparisons will be:

- 1 if we have two communities
- 3 if we have 3 communities
- 6 if we have 4 communities
- 10 if we have 5 communities
- 15 if we have 6 communities
- 21 if we have 7 communities

More generally, if n is the number of communities, the

number of comparisons of villages taken two by two will be:

$$\frac{n(n-1)}{2}$$

For each variable studied, the possible comparisons can be represented by the following double entry tabulation.

	Village A	Village B	Village C	Village D
Village A		+	+	+
Village B			+	+
Village C				+
Village D				

This example gives us the case of four villages. The resulting number of comparisons is 6. In fact, seven communities are studied in the present essay: four French, one Italian and two Swedish.

Longuenesse	}	-	Artois	France
Hallines				
Wisques				
Briec		-	Brittany	France
Pratolino		-	Tuscany	Italy
Arrie	}	-	Scania	Sweden
Hörröd				

If we have seven villages, for each variable the number of comparisons of villages taken two by two will be twenty one. These comparisons can be represented by the following diagram.

Hörröd Arrie Briec Pratolino Wisques Hallines Longuenesse

Longuenesse	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hallines	+	+	+	+	+	
Wisques	+	+	+	+		
Pratolino	+	+	+			
Briec	+	+				
Arrie	+					
Hörröd						

Comparing seven communities is therefore a very complex operation. One must bear in mind that such a tabulation can be repeated for any variable studied. The elaboration of a clear and systematic mode of presentation of the results is further complicated by the fact that all variables, all indices, cannot be calculated for all the villages composing the sample. One cannot expect historical records coming from regions as different as Sweden, France and Italy to be perfectly comparable. Comparable indices can be calculated in many but not in all cases. Sometimes, significant results can be obtained for all the communities, sometimes for some villages only. Let us take two examples: Age-specific mobility and kinship density. The two following matrices record only the two by two comparisons made possible by the documentation.

1) Geographical mobility

Hörröd Arrie Briec Pratolino Wisques Hallines Longuenesse

Longuenesse	+	+	+	+	+	-
Hallines	-	-	-	-	-	
Wisques	+	+	+	+		
Pratolino	+	+	+			
Briec	+	+				
Arrie	+					
Hörröd						

Age specific mobility indices can be calculated for all villages except Hallines. So we still have 15 possible two by two comparisons.

The case of kinship density is less satisfactory.

2) Kinship density

Hörröd Arrie Briec Pratolino Wisques Hallines Longuenesse

Longuenesse	-	-	-	+	+	+
Hallines	-	-	-	+	+	
Wisques	-	-	-	+		
Pratolino	-	-	-			
Briec	-	-				
Arrie	-					
Hörröd						

The number of possible two by two comparisons falls to six because kinship density can only be calculated for four villages.

The large number of variables and the incompleteness of the documentation combine to make it impossible to propose a perfect and systematic way of presenting the results. Some complexity and a great deal of imperfection cannot be avoided.

In the dissertation, I have presented each main variable or set of variables separately in one or two distinct chapters. Chapter 2 is concerned with household structure, chapter 3 with age-specific geographical mobility, chapters 4 and 5 with kinship networks, chapter 6 with choice of godparents. Chapter 1 gives a detailed description of the agrarian organization of the communities.

This does not imply that the various chapters are independent pieces of research. Whenever necessary, the relationships between the different variables are studied in great detail. But no systematic plan can be followed to establish these bridges between the various chapters composing the dissertation.

Beside comparing the values taken by these variables in different types of peasant community, I have attempted to study the interaction between the variables in each community.

For instance, a fairly close mathematical relationship can be found between indices describing geographical mobility and indices describing kinship density. This is an extreme case of dependence of two variables. In other cases the variables are not dependent in the mathematical acceptance of the term. Thus, in a given community, a

high kinship density is often accompanied by a high proportion of kinsmen among chosen godparents, but this relationship between kinship density and proportion of kinsmen among godparents is by no means inevitable and is in fact not verified in a fair number of cases. On the contrary, the relationship between kinship density and geographical mobility is necessary, because the two types of index are really two different ways of describing the same phenomenon, of analyzing the movements (geographical mobility) or position in space (kinship density) of individuals; the two types of index are therefore necessarily connected. These questions will be further developed in the relevant chapters of the dissertation. But one must bear in mind that there are two kinds of relationships between social variables:

- 1) mathematical, necessary relationships when two variables are not independent. When one variable is logically connected with another. Such relationships are typical of demography. For instance, birth rate minus death rate equals rate of growth of the population. This is a strictly defined relationship between three variables. Such relationships stem logically from the very definition of the variables.
- 2) Observed relationships between logically independent variables. Such relationships are by no means necessary. Observation might tell us, for instance, that there is a correlation between age at marriage and wealth of marriage partners. But we have to look at the facts.

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Age at marriage and wealth are two distinct variables; their dependence is only statistical.

The comparative analysis of seven pre-industrial peasant communities makes it possible to discover several relationships of both kinds. But the present dissertation does not propose a complete and exhaustive study of peasant villages. Only some variables can be analysed and compared.

We cannot really derive general propositions on peasants and the peasantry from an incomplete analysis of only seven peasant communities. The present essay is not a work of synthesis. It is mostly analytical as it attempts to establish relationships between different elements of the social structure in particular cases. The general validity of these relationships (are they applicable to all times and places?) is not systematically studied. In fact, there are a number of general propositions in the dissertation, such as "the mezzadria system implies the existence of large families". But these should be taken as mere hypotheses.

One question is systematically asked in the essay: which elements of the social structure were determined by the economic organization of the communities and which were not? The agrarian system, described in chapter 1, is often a major factor in the explanation of other aspects of the social structure, family, kinship or mobility and I have attempted to evaluate the weight of this factor systematically.

PRELIMINARY: THE DOCUMENTS

At this stage, a short description of the documents, Parish Registers and nominative listings, is necessary. Only their main characteristics and common features will be presented here. More precise aspects will be treated in connection with specific technical problems.¹

The leading documents is the Status Animarum (French: Etat des Ames; Italian: Stato d'Anime). It was a census taken in a parish on the day of the Easter Communion, intended as a sort of religious inspection; the parish priest simply checked on the presence of all the villagers at the ceremony. The nominative listing which was drawn up was in fact a description of all the households composing the community. The end of the Religious Wars of the 16th and 17th century, the restoration of conformity in most of the villages of the regions remaining catholic turned this instrument of religious struggle into simple administrative routine.

¹ On nominative listings and their uses in social history, see: Laslett (P) The study of social structure from listings of inhabitants in An introduction to English historical demography, Wrigley E.A. Editor. Also: Household and family in past time, Laslett P. Editor. A general table presents the characteristics of the various listings used in this essay: see appendix 1.

Location of the documents

Hallines, Wisques, Longuenesse: Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais, Arras, France.
 Briec: Archives Départementales du Finistère, Quimper, France.
 Pratolino: Archivio Vescovile, Fiesole, Italy.
 Arrie, Hörröd: Landsarkivet, Lund, Sweden.

The number and quality of these listings of inhabitants vary from country to country. Not many of them are left for France but those which remain are generally good. In Tuscany, they can be found for a very large number of parishes.¹ Repetitive listings covering thirteen years (1778-1790) are almost unknown in France, and their existence for Longuenesse and Wisques makes them two extraordinarily well documented villages.² The seventeen listings (1761-1777) corresponding to the parish of Hallines are unfortunately not as high in quality as those of Longuenesse and Wisques. The two listings for Briec are good, but their periodicity is less satisfactory: only two listings, four years apart (1769 and 1773). The censuses of Pratolino were chosen among the mass of Tuscan listings for the reasons set out in chapter 4. Again there are thirteen listings covering thirteen years (1721-1733).

Comparable documents can be found in a number of Protestant countries: Sweden is the most remarkable example. The occasion of registration in that case was not the Easter Communion but a verification of the parishioner's knowledge of the Lutheran catechism. The result of this inspection is very similar to a Catholic Status Animarum. These Protestant censuses soon became part of the general administrative machinery of the Swedish state. As a result,

¹ For a detailed presentation and critical analysis of the Stati d'Anime, see: Schifini (S) Caratteristiche della rilevazioni numeriche della popolazione nei secoli XVII e XVIII.

² One can add exceptional tax-records to exceptional nominative listings.

early lists of inhabitants can be found for almost all Swedish parishes. The earliest listing of this kind goes back to 1607; the registration was systematized around 1750. Before the 1750s only confirmed parishioners were registered, as was often the case with Catholic censuses, but later, all individuals, including young children, were recorded. It seems, from my experience at the national Archive in Lund¹, that really good listings are frequent for the 19th century only. But there are important regional differences. The Swedish term for these parish catechetical registers is husföhrslängder. In the later period, local priests also had to keep migration registers, recording all individuals moving in and out of the parish.² This is the main difference between Sweden and the Catholic countries as far as local records are concerned.³

Another type of Swedish document, derived from the preceding two, is extremely useful. The Formulär för Folkmängdens antecknande på Landsbyggden⁴ gives a summary, at the parish or district levels, of the information collected by the census: age and sex distribution, occupation, wealth, migration, number of animals, type of cultivation

¹ Landsarkivet i Lund.

² Förteckning öfver Inflyttade: in-migration.
Förteckning öfver Utflyttade: out-migration.

³ On Swedish records, see:
Odén B. Historical statistics in the Nordic countries pp. 269-270 in The dimensions of the past, Lorwin & Price Editors.
Utterström G. Two essays on population in 18th century Scandinavia pp. 523-535, in Population in History, Glass & Eversley Editors.

⁴ "Form for the registration of the population in the country".

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and arable land. Like the censuses, the tabulations of the formulären were computed every five years. Two of them are used in this essay, both for the year 1820.

The differences in quality between the various sets of listings account for the fact that some indices cannot be calculated for a particular community. For Longuenesse and the dependent hamlet of Wisques, as well as for Pratolino, the documents are perfect: all the relevant indices can be calculated. Things are less satisfactory with Hallines: its nominative listings do not always indicate ages, and fail to record all children and servants. This is the reason why Hallines can be used for the study of household structure and kinship networks but not for the analysis of geographical mobility.

There was no under-registration in Briec but the periodicity of the listings (a four-year interval) raises a problem of comparison: the mobility indices for Pratolino and Longuenesse were first calculated for one year intervals and this cannot be done for Briec. I explain in chapter 3 the differences created in mobility indices by different census-periodicities.¹ The only way out of the dilemma proves to be a double calculation for Longuenesse and Pratolino: to the 'perfect' results obtained by using one-year periods, I have added a 'simulation' of imperfect results using four-year intervals which is strictly comparable to the results for Briec. The

¹ See: Chapter 3 page 111 note 1.

repetition of fairly similar measurements may be thought a rather cumbersome technique but it seems to me the only way of reaching safe conclusions. Moreover, this procedure clarifies a number of theoretical problems and allows a better interpretation of age-specific mobility indices.

For Briec, Arrie and Hörröd no reconstitution of the kinship network was possible for technical reasons exposed in the relevant section. This is indeed a major drawback.

But these restrictions should not lead to an under-estimation of the documentation: early census listings, when they are combined with parish registers, make possible a comparative study of kinship networks and geographical mobility. Their value for the comparative study of household structure has already been demonstrated.¹ Both types of documents existed in all European countries. Parish registers are now so well known as essential to historical demography that no introductory remarks seem to be necessary. One can find information on these lists of baptisms, burials and marriages in a number of English, French and Italian books, a list of which is given in the bibliography. Specific points concerning the quality of the different types of Parish Register used (French, Italian and Swedish) will be treated in connection with actual technical problems of measurement.

It seems that a comparative study such as this can never be complete. Documents are never perfectly similar,

¹ Laslett P. Household and family in past time.

but history - even quantified history - can never hope to achieve the results of an exact science. However, many comparisons can be made and comparative historical research based on early censuses is worth undertaking.

FOLLOWING PAGES
EXCERPTS FROM THE
NOMINATIVE LISTINGS

LONGUENESSE

1781.

Quatrième Visite Pascale.

Nom bre des Perb.	Longuenette	Age	Conf.	Com.	inst.	Cond.
Première famille						
1.	M. antoine Hubert Hieq, curé	51.				
2.	Catherine Thérèse Payen, Domest.	148.				
2 ^{me} famille						
3.	Charles François Darin, Clerc, Tailleur	47.	Conf.	Com.	inst.	B.
4.	Antoinette Joseph Payelle, Sa femme	45.	C.	C.	inst.	B.
5.	Marie Margt ^e Darin, leur 1 ^{re} fille	13.	C.	C.	inst.	B.
6.	Antoine François, 1 ^{er} fils	12.		C.	inst.	B.
7.	Jeanne Joseph Léonore, 3 ^{me} fille	9.				
8.	Marie Joseph, 4 ^{me} fille	7.				
3 ^{me} famille						
9.	Valentin Joseph Bouy, Bailly de S.B.	50.	C.	C.	inst.	B.
10.	M. Victoire Felicité Wallart, Sa femme	31.	C.	C.	inst.	B.
11.	M. Margt ^e Desprez, M. Duchateau, Sa mer.	46.	C.	C.		B.
12.	Pierre Joseph Baillet, Son neveu	16.	C.	C.		
13.	Michel Delvire (Parenty, manouvrier	47.	C.	C.		
14.	Noël Broutet, domestique	31.	C.	C.		
15.	Marie François Labrun, charottier	28.		C.	non	
16.	Joseph Pointu (abquines) charottier	18.	C.	C.		
17.	Pierre Joseph Delattra, (Remilly) Domest.	36.	C.	C.		
18.	Lévin Duchokhois, Porcher	11.				
19.	Marie Caroline Joseph Bonie, Servant	29.	C.	C.		
20.	Marie Etienne Darin, 1 ^{re} Servante	15.	C.	C.		
4 ^{me} famille						
21.	Charles François Foubert, bailly 1 ^{er} ad.	41.	C.	C.		
22.	M. Jos. Dorothie Robb, M. Foubert, Sa mer.	69.	C.	C.	inst.	B.
23.	M. Cecile Pélagie Foubert, Sa Sœur.	20.	C.	C.	inst.	B.
24.	Louis Devos (Boulingue) charottier	25.	C.	C.		
25.	Jean Marie Parille (Nidell) Domest.					

(16)

Podere di Porucheto.

115. Pasquino di g. ^o Sabato Taiuti	61. c c c
116. Madd. di Pasquino Taiuti m.	31. c c c
117. M. ^o Stella di Pasquino Taiuti f.	10. c —
118. M. ^o Rosa di Pasquino Taiuti f.	7. c —
119. Teresia di Pasquino Taiuti f.	6. — —
120. Antonio di Pasquino Taiuti l.	3. — —
121. Agnola di Pasquino Taiuti f.	1. — —
122. Giuseppe di g. ^o Sabato Taiuti	40. c c c
123. Marg. ^o di Giuseppe Taiuti m.	39. c c c
124. Tebano di Giuseppe Taiuti l.	15. c c —
125. Sabato di Giuseppe Taiuti l.	13. c —
126. Alessandra di Giuseppe Taiuti f.	10. c —
127. M. ^o Ang. ^o di Giuseppe Taiuti f.	7. c —
128. Caterina di Giuseppe Taiuti f.	3. — —
129. M. ^o Anna di Giuseppe Taiuti f.	1. — —
130. M. ^o di g. ^o Sabato Taiuti f.	60. c c c

(17)

Podere di Aquinico.

131. Angiolo di g. ^o Matteo Pieri	50. c c c
132. Maria di Angiolo Pieri m.	50. c c c
133. Fran. ^o di Angiolo Pieri	33. c c c
134. Agnola di Fran. ^o Pieri m.	30. c c c
135. Caterina di Fran. ^o Pieri f.	11. c —
136. Madd. di Fran. ^o Pieri f.	7. c —
137. M. ^o Marg. ^o di Fran. ^o Pieri f.	4. — —
138. M. ^o cony. di Fran. ^o Pieri f.	1. — —

autres	maison de Jean Le Galand Chef	57
	+ Anne Le Galand sa femme	37
	+ Yves Le Galand leur fils	13
	+ Anne Le Galand leur fille	16
	Marie Hyacinthe Le Galand leur fille	10
autres	+ Jean Gourmelin Chef	68
	+ Marie Cuzen sa femme	38
	+ Urbain Barre leur gendre	42
	+ Marie Gourmelin sa femme	26
	Urbain Barre leur fils	3
	Marie Barre leur fille	13
autres	+ Yves Cusin Chef	24
	+ Madeleine Gaudin sa femme	25
autres	+ Olivier Belbener gend.	36
	+ Anne de Belbener sa fille	14
	Joseph de Belbener sa fille	9
autres	+ Yves Gourmelin pere	64
	+ Coventin Gourmelin son fils Chef	37
	+ Marie Barre sa femme	33
	Yves Gourmelin leur fils	5
	Marie Gourmelin leur fille	2
	Coventin Joseph Anne Gourmelin fils	10
	+ Yves Gourmelin pensionnaire	22
	+ Joseph Gourmelin Mineur	65
autres	+ Marie Salaun sa femme Scola	60
Klmpoek	+ Mathias de Loret Chef	33
	+ Joseph Gourmelin sa femme	39
	Joseph de Loret leur fille	5

H. vial

1	annechalony veuve de rené d'espée	36
	rené d'espée son fils	3
2	jean le d'orve chef	46
	marguerite le d'orve sa femme	53
	jean le d'orve leur fils marié	21
	marié leur sa femme	30
	jean le d'orve leur fils	2
	jean le d'orve domestique	24
	guerreux son domestique	18
	louis le guerreux servante	16
	catherine le guerreux servante	13
3	alain dornie chef maréchal	35
	yvonne le d'orve sa femme	37
	hervé dornie leur fils	7
	yvonne le d'orve veuve de jean dornie	67
4	louis guilleminou chef liant	34
	francoise leblouet sa femme	32
	catherine guilleminou leur fille	4
	marié guilleminou leur fille	2
	alain guilleminou frère de louis liant	40
	jeanne leblouet sa femme et veuve de d'orve	30
	marié dornie fille de jeanne	6
	yves guilleminou liant	26
	guillaume guilleminou {frère de louis et d'alain	25
	marié anne jacques servante	20
	guerreux leblouet domestique	12
5	louis le d'ignard chef liant	46
	marié pennaruen sa femme	40
	joseph pennaruen leur gendre	20
	anne d'ignard sa femme	18
	francoise le d'ignard	15
	louis le d'ignard {enfants de louis	11
	jeanne le d'ignard	6
	marié le douguet domestique	15
	doniel d'ignard frère de louis père	25
6	marié henaff veuve de henry lefiollet	40
	yves lefiollet son fils	11
	anne lefiollet sa fille	9

H. vial

1	anne chalong veuve de verine de sepe	36
	René de sepe son fils	3
2	jean le orre chef	46
	marquise le lardie sa femme	53
	jean le orre leur fils marié l'arant	21
	marié l'arant sa femme	30
	jean le orre leur fils	2
	jean le corler domestique	24
	pierre leur domestique	18
	louise le guern servante	16
	catherine le fiolet servante	13
3	alain dornie chef marcihal	35
	yvonne le taler sa femme	37
	herve dornie leur fils	7
	yvonne le gal veuve jean dornie mere d'alain	67
4	louis guillemou chef l'arant	35
	francoise le buet sa femme	32
	catherine guillemou leur fille	4
	marié guillemou leur fille	2
	alain guillemou frere de louis l'arant	40
	jeanne le louet sa femme et veuve alain dornie	30
	marié dornie fille de jeanne	6
	yves guillemou l'arant	26
	guillaume guillemou frere de louis et d'alain	25
	marié anne jacques servante	20
	pierre le louet domestique	12
5	louis le orgnard chef l'arant	46
	marié pennanen sa femme	40
	joseph pennanen leur gendre	20
	anne orgnard sa femme	18
	francoise le orgnard	15
	louis le orgnard	11
	jeanne le orgnard	6
	marié le douguet domestique	15
	deniel orgnard frere de louis pere	24
6	marié henast veuve de henry le fiolet	40
	yves le fiolet son fils	11
	anne le fiolet sa fille	9

Hörröd

HÖRRÖD 1822

Husm. <u>Jöns Fredriksson</u>	1769	17/2
Hustru <u>Morfina Jonedotter</u>	1767	
Son <u>Per</u>	1812	29/8
Döttrar <u>Hanna</u>	1815	2/1
<u>Elna</u>	1817	1/9
<u>Bengta</u>	1820	3/4
<u>Dottern Anna</u>	1823	13/4
Enka, Svärm. <u>Anna Nilsdotter</u>	1752	2/3

Husm. <u>Ola Strickhärdfon</u>	1767	
Hustru <u>Elna Svendotter</u>	1777	30/8
Söner <u>Föran</u>	1808	27/1
<u>Sven</u>	1811	23/2
<u>Nils</u>	1819	26/5

Husm. <u>Ola Arfvidsson</u>	1774	27/8
Hustru <u>Hanna Andersdotter</u>	1770	12/9
Enka <u>Anna Nilsdotter</u>	1756	15/5

1111 Bräcklig

Husm. <u>Lasse Johnson</u>	1785	15/2
Hustru <u>Ingar Persdotter</u>	1785	16/4
Söner <u>Per</u>	1816	4/8
<u>John</u>	1819	25/9
Döttrar <u>Bengta</u>	1810	5/10
<u>Anna</u>	1813	1/5
<u>Nilla</u>	1823	17/5

delvis

Husm. <u>Lasse Persson</u>	1773	8/2
Hustru <u>Ingar Andersdotter</u>	1781	2/5
Söner <u>Jöns</u>	1807	2/6
<u>Ola</u>	1809	2/12

ingen på samt författ

ARRIE 1818

Ur

Namn.	Födelses			Kom		Flyttad		Innanlysning.	Skifning
	År	dag	Ställe	från	År	till	År		
W. L.									
Andersson									
Andersson	1786	24	Åkarp	Leckurp	1817				
Hufv. Bengt Olof Dotter	1795	16	Arrie						
Dr. Bengt Schaffer	1795	24	Arrie						
Sven. Hans Olof Dotter	1768	24	Torrings						
Hufv. Hans Olof Dotter	1754	24	Kallarp						
Hufv. Bengt Olof Dotter	1755	29	Torries						
Andersson									
Sven. Andersson	1778	24	Sädderup						
Hufv. Urm. Olof Dotter	1782	26	Glefforp						
Dotter. Olof Olof Dotter	1815	24	Arrie						
Dotter. Olof Olof Dotter	1788	28	Arrie						
Dotter. Olof Olof Dotter	1784	24	Singelstap	Singelstap	1816	Arrie	1818		
Dotter. Olof Olof Dotter	1798	24	Åkarp	Singelstap	1816	Arrie	1818		
Andersson									
Sven. Olof	1782	24	Skabersjö						
Hufv. Olof Olof Dotter	1779	24	Glefforp						
Sven. Olof Olof Dotter	1808	24	Glefforp						
Dotter. Olof	1812	26	Arrie						
Dotter. Olof	1817	26	Arrie						

CHAPTER I

FOUR TYPES OF AGRARIAN ORGANIZATION

The four regions studied in this essay - Artois, Tuscany, Brittany, Scania - cannot be considered as representative of three different countries - France, Italy and Sweden - or even of three loosely defined cultural areas. Each village or set of villages will be taken as representative of a particular type of agrarian system. This does not imply that the economic life of the communities should explain every other aspect of their social structure; but many fundamental relations can be established between the economic organization of a peasant community and variables such as household structure, geographical mobility, or kinship density.

- 1) Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques, villages in the Northern French province of Artois, do not represent the whole of France but a capitalist farming system.
- 2) Pratolino, a Tuscan parish, is not taken as representative of Italy but of a share-cropping system (mezzadria).
- 3) Brie, in Brittany, is no more typical of France than the Artesian villages but is one of the many varieties of



feudal systems.¹

4) Arrie and Hörröd, two parishes in Southern Sweden provide the example of a stable and fairly numerous middle peasantry, although labourers were also an essential part of the system at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first two systems, capitalist farming and share-cropping, are quite easy to classify as pure or ideal types. In both, property is defined in the modern way as clear and absolute, and the status of labour is also modern, that is to say free. In both cases the peasants are not the owners of the land. But the nature of the rent and the organization of production are different in the two types of agricultural organization. In the capitalist farming system, very large holdings are leased out for a money-rent to big farmers who generally own the working capital. These employ the labour force of a village community composed mainly of labourers. Wages are paid in cash or in kind; rents and wages are regulated by more or less perfect markets.

¹ It is very difficult to find a proper term for this type of agrarian system. See definition in the following pages.

J. Hicks in A theory of economic history calls it the "Lord and peasant system". The vagueness of the phrase enables him to apply it to all non-mercantilized agricultural systems, including extra-European ones. (pp. 101-102)

"Manorial" and "Seigneurial" rightly put the emphasis on the local community-basis of economic organization. But "Manor" is too English, and "Seigneurie" too French.

The term "feudal", although putting the emphasis on the global political structure of society, clearly refers to the set of agrarian systems which will be defined in the following pages.

The share-cropping system requires large or medium-sized holdings which are entrusted by the owner to peasant families using almost exclusively their own labour force. The rent is in kind: a fixed proportion of the harvest, usually one half of the total product, goes to the owner of the farm, the other half to the peasant family.¹

It is thus easy to describe capitalist farming and share-cropping as ideal types: well defined land-ownership, freedom of labour, variable money-rent or fixed rent in kind, use of wage-labour or family farm. Such a brief definition is impossible for the feudal system.

The status of labour and of property rights in land is most easily defined in this case as intermediate. The "feudal" peasant was neither a slave nor a freeman. Property was not absolute but shared by several individuals, at least one lord and one peasant.²

The variety in the types of feudal tenancy was almost infinite: the length of leases, the nature of the dues collected by the lord, in cash or in kind, the amount of labour-dues required by the manor, all varied and could be combined into an unlimited number of "systems". One might add that the size of the holdings in a given manor was

¹ In theory the peasant family provides at least one part of the working capital. But in practice this was not so. In chapter 3: Household mobility and agrarian system, we shall see what the real position of the share-cropper was.

² J. Hicks, A theory of economic history, p. 107. "There is as yet no land ownership".

rarely uniform: one could find small, middle and big peasants.¹ Another major variable was the size and relative importance of the demesne and of peasant tenures. It must be clear that no feudal system with an important demesne existed in eighteenth century Western Europe. Only Eastern Europe, in the eighteenth century, could provide an example of direct cultivation by the lord of a large-scale demesne, using peasant labour dues (corvées). But it must be remembered that even there a number of characteristics were quite alien to the system found in Western Europe in the high Middle Ages: the main one was that of large-scale production for an external market, which did not exist in ninth century feudalism but was essential to the agrarian system of Eastern Europe in the eighteenth century.²

Fourth type: a stable middle peasantry. In such a system a fair proportion of the land is held by medium-sized family-farms. The peasants own the land or at least have secure hereditary rights. The organization of labour - family farms - is the same as in the case of share-cropping. Share-croppers, however, did not own their land.

¹ "The people of a village of England in the Middle Ages were divided not only into families, but also into social classes, of different degrees of wealth and consideration... In most villages the number of the main social classes was two". G. Homans English villagers of the thirteenth century p. 72. And see chapter XVII on "The sorts and conditions of men" pp. 232-252.

² See: Kula (W) Théorie économique du système féodal, pp. 28-54.

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The following descriptions will show that the four sets of communities can be considered as fairly good examples - although not perfect examples - of these four theoretical models.

Eighteenth and early nineteenth century communities have been chosen for a very simple reason: the documentation makes it impossible to reach further back in time.

Description of the communities

I - Artois and Tuscany

In 1780, in Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques, three villages situated close to the small town of Saint-Omer, on the border of the plateau of Artois, land was unequally distributed. The social structure was in fact absolutely polarized: a mass of labourers worked for a handful of very big farmers. In Longuenesse itself, for example, four large farms occupied 75% of the village land. This was an extreme version of the model proposed by Georges Lefebvre and Pierre Goubert for Northern France in the 17th and 18th century.¹

In 1721, in Pratolino, a parish in the hills six or seven miles north of Florence, the classical Tuscan mezzadria was predominant. Peasant families cultivated self-sufficient farms for landlords living in town. The produce of the land was divided into two parts, in accordance

¹ G. Lefebvre, Les paysans du Nord pendant la Révolution française. P. Goubert, Beauvais et le Beauvaisis.

with the usual mezzadria contract. The distribution of the parish land among the different holdings, the poderi, was fairly even.¹ Variations in the fiscal assessments of poderi for most of the communities of the district of Fiesole, south of Pratolino, were in the proportion of one to three: the richest poderi had to pay three times as much as the poorest. These taxes were roughly proportional to wealth. Equivalent variations for Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques would give a proportion of 1 to 200.

The poderi of Pratolino were probably larger in size than the Tuscan average. They seem to have been big at the beginning of the 19th century, and as the agrarian history of Tuscany in the 18th century was mostly one of stagnation there is no reason to believe that the situation in 1721 was different from what it was in 1813.²

The bulk of the population was composed in both types of community of what might be called "dominated" peasants: the journaliers of northern France were dominated by the wealthy farmers who employed them, although it must be remembered that these labourers owned their houses, a

¹ I owe this piece of information (unpublished) to Lorenzo Del Panta. See his unpublished thesis: Aspetti della struttura socioeconomica ed implicazioni demografiche, di una zona della Toscana, Fiesole nei sec. XVII-XIX. Fiscal assessments unfortunately do not exist for the parish of Pratolino itself: the local archives of the civil parish of Vaglia, of which Pratolino is a part, have been destroyed during the second World War.

² C. Pazzagli, L'agricoltura Toscana nella prima metà dell'800 p. 349 and pp. 413-414.

garden, and sometimes a small plot of arable land. In some cases, therefore, the terms 'cottager', 'bordar', or 'crofter' might be more appropriate. The mezzadri of Tuscany were dominated by their landlord and owned neither house nor land.

As a social type the journaliers are not even considered by sociologists as peasants properly speaking, but rather as a rural type of proletarian.¹ But the mezzadri were in no better position: they were often called by the name of lavoratore which is close enough to the English term labourer (X, labourer of Mr Y). The expression is a clear indication of the true nature of the relationship between owner and tenant.

One could distinguish three social roles in Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques: labourer, wealthy farmer and landlord (lay or ecclesiastical). Only two major social roles existed in Pratolino: share-cropper and landlord. In both cases, Artois and Tuscany, the owners of the land were for the most part absentee landlords. This should be borne in mind when we come to the analysis of exchanges of godparents between different social groups.

In order to obtain a complete picture of these local agrarian systems, one must add that the settlement pattern was not the same in the two kinds of communities. It was totally nucleated in Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques, and this was normal for a system where a big farmer had to hire

¹ See for instance T. Shanin (Editor) Peasants and peasant societies, Introduction pp. 15-16.

whole teams of labourers and servants at different times of the year. The settlement pattern was of the scattered type in Pratolino: each family farm was more or less located at the very center of its fields for obvious reasons. As it did not depend on external labour this was a rational solution.¹

This description should make it clear that the parishes of Longuenesse and Pratolino are representative of the two theoretical models previously described. Pratolino on the one hand, Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques on the other, had reached in the 18th century a final stage of evolution in two diverging directions. One cannot imagine a more clearly concentrated land-holding system than the one found in Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques, and it is difficult to find a share-cropping system clearer than that of Pratolino. The evolution which began in 14th and 15th century Tuscany reached a final stage well before the 18th century.² However, it will be seen later that minor differences between Wisques, Longuenesse and Hallines are important in explaining differences in kinship density:

¹ The poderi constituted fairly compact and stable holdings: the mezzadria was not simply a type of lease. Its formation implied a fundamental re-organization of the agrarian landscape of Tuscany. See Jones (P.J.) From manor to mezzadria; and Sereni (E.) Storia del paesaggio italiano pp. 205-206 and Map p. 206. "... Il podere resta piu sovente una stabile unita culturale..."

² On the appearance of the mezzadria in the course of the Middle Ages, see: P.J. Jones From manor to mezzadria: a Tuscan case study in the medieval origins of modern agrarian society. In Rubinstein (N.): Politics and society in Renaissance Florence.

the capitalist agrarian system was more perfect in Longuenesse and Wisques than in Hallines, where labourers owned more land.

It must be noted that when the phrase "pure" or "ideal" type is used, it is opposed to "average type". Hallines, Longuenesse, Wisques and Pratolino cannot in any way be considered as average cases. They did not represent a French or Italian typical situation. When one comes to the interpretation of the results, extreme cases offer major advantages: the indices obtained concern only one numerous and homogeneous social category. They are not affected by possible residual social types. Only a few unavoidable minority cases can perturb the measurements: in Longuenesse, for instance, two wealthy farmers, a vicar and a retired bourgeois, can be opposed to about forty labourers. It is the same with Pratolino where only a vicar, two landowners, a steward¹ and two labourers (pigionali) lived alongside thirty mezzadri.²

The numerical indices calculated for Artois and Tuscany mainly represent the group of "dominated" peasants, journaliers and mezzadri, because these people predominated

¹ The fattore (steward) supervises a group of poderi. He is not concerned with the actual management of the farm but with the levying and stocking of the landlord's share of the harvest. On the relations between podere and fattoria see: Pazzagli (C.) L'agricoltura Toscana nella prima meta dell'800 Part 2, Chapter 1, and Giorgetti (G.) Note sul grande affitto in Toscana nel secolo XVIII, Agricoltura e sviluppo capitalistico nella Toscana dell'700.

² See appendix 4 on occupations in Wisques, Longuenesse and Pratolino.

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numerically. The results obtained for these parishes are therefore easy to interpret. The situation is very different for Briec and the Swedish communities.

II - Brittany

One cannot use for the description of the basic socio-economic system of Briec in 1769-1773 fiscal records similar to those giving so much information on Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques.¹ It is therefore impossible to obtain the local distribution of land-holding. This lack of information on Briec raises greater problems than in the case of Pratolino. The mezzadria system was fairly uniform whereas the different types of feudal organization were not. Having to rely on general regional studies is therefore a major disadvantage.²

¹ The tax-documents used for Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisque are exceptionally good, far better than the standard documents existing for most villages in northern France. The classic document for the region around Paris, for instance, is the Role de Taille which simply indicates the amount of money a peasant has to pay. The originality of the situation in Artois is that it combines a north-western classic agrarian system (large scale, technical advance) with a careful mediterranean system of taxation based on a detailed survey of the parish land. This taxation system was introduced by the Spaniards in 1569. (See: Bellart (G.) L'organisation et le rôle financier des Etats d'Artois de 1661 à 1789). Taxation records for 1780 exist for most of the Département du Pas-de-Calais. The Centièmes give, for all the plots composing a parish territory, the name of the owner and that of the occupier, the surface and fiscal value of the plot. One cannot ask for more detailed information. However, it takes a great deal of time to obtain synthetic results from such a precise document.

² Two main books on the agrarian history of Brittany: Sée (H.) Les classes rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e siècle à la Révolution and the more recent thesis: Meyer (J.) La noblesse bretonne au XVIII^e siècle.

A clear feature of the feudal system in 18th century Brittany was the persistence of labour dues owed by the tenant to the landlord. This remainder of serfdom alone defines the system as feudal. These labour dues were widely used and by no means nominal.¹ The heavy weight and importance of manorial dues (justice, use of manorial equipment, sums paid for the transmission of a holding) for the Breton nobility were quite remarkable in 18th century France.²

I had the luck to find in Jean Meyer's thesis examples of the various types of tenancy which existed in the very parish of Briec in the late 18th century.³ Most of the possible types were juxtaposed: share-cropping, fixed rent in cash, and a complex local variety called "domaine congéable" which was peculiar to Brittany.⁴ This last type of tenancy makes a distinction between the farmhouse and the land itself. The peasant is considered as the owner of the house. If he is dismissed, the landlord must give him a compensation for these buildings. The peasant keeps the produce of the land but must pay a rent in cash or in kind. To this are added labour dues. The domaine congéable

¹ Meyer (J.) La noblesse bretonne pp. 683-688.

² See (H) Histoire économique et sociale de la France p. 186: "Il importe de remarquer que le régime seigneurial n'a pas eu partout la même intensité... Il semble que nulle part l'exploitation seigneuriale n'ait été aussi forte qu'en Bretagne." (p. 186).

³ Meyer (J.) La noblesse bretonne pp. 845-847.

⁴ On the "domaine congéable" see Meyer, La noblesse bretonne, pp. 720-745.

was predominant in Western Brittany (Basse Bretagne) of which Briec is a part. It can be taken as typical of a feudal system because of its intermediate, non-absolute definition of property rights which we have taken as an essential feature of feudal systems. One might add that Briec was also a typical example of feudal organization because of the very confusion as far as types of tenancy are concerned. But it must be remembered that we do not know what the exact distribution of land-holding was (size of farms, etc...).

Briec was not, like Longuenesse, Hallines or Pratolino, a stable economic system and peasant community. A recent article by a local scholar describes the emergence of a class of wealthy peasants¹ in 18th century Briec. The main evidence, which I find very convincing, is the appearance in that period of a few big and beautiful peasant houses. It can be deduced easily from this and from the general stagnation of agricultural productivity in Brittany that, parallel to the rise of the farmers, the formation of a rural proletariat had begun.

The distribution of land-holding was therefore bound to be unequal, but without reaching the complete polarization found in Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines. The nominative listings used for the study of Briec do not indicate the agricultural occupations of heads of household, but they do tell us whether an individual was a servant or not. The

¹ Frère Guy Leclerc, L'écho de Saint-Louis, Chateaulin, N° 78, 79, 80.

overall proportion of servants was almost the same in Longuenesse and Briec (13%, 13.5%) but these were distributed among only 20% of the households in Longuenesse whereas in Briec, 34% of the households included servants. Since there has to be some kind of connection between size of farms and number of servants, it is reasonable to assume that the concentration of land in a few hands was not as advanced in Briec as it was in Longuenesse.

The peasants of Briec did not constitute a homogeneous group: a continuous social scale went from rural labourer to big farmer with all the possible intermediate categories. That local society was weakly polarized as compared to Hallines, Longuenesse, Wisques, and Pratolino, but a process of polarization had begun. The continuous social scale corresponding to that non-polarized but differentiated local society seems to have been common to most feudal systems.

The settlement pattern of Briec was also typical of Brittany. The parish was composed of scattered hamlets and farmsteads.

III - Scania

The province of Scania in South Sweden provides us with the case of a middle peasantry. At the beginning of the 19th century two main categories of peasants could be found in the communities of Arrie and Hörröd: farmers and labourers. This is very reminiscent of the division

typical of Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines, and more generally of capitalist farming. There was, however, a major difference between Longuenesse, Hallines, Wisques on the one hand, and Arrie or Hörröd on the other. The number of farmers and their wealth were very different in the two types of community. In Longuenesse, for instance, three farms occupied 75% of the village land whereas in Arrie and Hörröd no similar concentration of land could be observed. The number of labourers to every farmer was 15 in Longuenesse, 2 in Hörröd, 1 in Arrie.

The peasant community, although divided, was not a completely polarized society in early 19th century Scania, as it was in Artois. A measure of economic differentiation existed in South Sweden and polarization was progressing fairly rapidly as a consequence of population growth.¹ However, the farmers of Arrie and Hörröd were not big farmers and truly represented what must be called a middle peasantry: peasants producing food for themselves and for the market but not on a very large scale. Swedish farmers could be owner-occupiers (Bönder på egna Hemman) or tenants (Bönder på andras Hemman). Tenants could hold their land from the Crown, from the nobility, or someone else. One of the characteristics of the system as a whole was the stability of tenure. The Swedish peasantry was traditionally powerful and had a representation of its own in Parliament. In most

¹ See: Utterström G.O.: Jordbrukets arbetare, Levnadsvillkor och arbetsliv på landsbyden från frihetstiden till mitten av 1800-talet; 2 vols, Stockholm 1957 (summary in English) See also: Slicher Van Bath (H) Agrarian History of Western Europe p. 234.

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cases, tenant farmers had well specified hereditary rights to their land. One cannot therefore expect significant differences to appear between owner-occupiers on the one hand and tenants on the other. At the beginning of the 19th century the major division among Swedish peasants separated labourers, cottagers, and crofters from independent farmers. Middle peasants and family farms are still predominant in Swedish agriculture but labourers have disappeared as a consequence of mechanization.¹

Although the socio-economic distance between farmers and labourers was not as great in Arrie and Hörröd as in Longuenesse, a number of important similarities will appear between Scania and Artois: the pattern of geographical mobility was the most noticeable common feature.

Arrie and Hörröd must be considered as two instances of a single basic type when they are compared to communities in Artois, Tuscany or Brittany. However, significant differences between the two villages can be noted. Arrie was located in the rich plains of Scania, Hörröd on the poorer soil of the hills. Arable land covered most the parish territory in Arrie but forests, woods and wastes occupied an important part of the land in Hörröd.²

A document, the formulär,³ provides a classification of the population according to wealth. In the case of Hörröd, we can use the village formulär for 1820. We have

¹ Parent (J): Le modèle Suédois p. 272.

² See: Historiskt-geografiskt och statistiskt lexikon öfver Sverige. Stockholm, 1859.

³ See presentation of this document page 21

to use a district formulär to study Arrie, as no 1820 village formulär remains for this second parish. However, Arrie was fairly typical of the region covered by the formulär for the Oxie district. The distribution of occupations in Arrie, as established from the nominative listing, is exactly similar to the one registered by the formulär for the whole district of Oxie to which the community of Arrie belonged. Table 1 reproduces the distribution of households according to wealth given by the formulär.¹

Table 1: Wealth in Arrie and Hörröd

	Households			
	Oxie district		Hörröd	
	(Arrie)			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Rich (<u>Förmögne</u>)	64	3%	1	1%
Medium (<u>Behållne</u>)	597	33%	14	12%
Poor (<u>Fattige</u>)	894	50%	100	85%
Paupers (<u>Utfattige</u>)	242	13%	2	2%

In Hörröd, poor and very poor households made up 85% of the total number; in the Oxie district, only 63%. The proportion of very poor households (Utfattige), however, was much greater in Oxie (13%) than in Hörröd (2%). In

¹ Absolute numbers can be found in the Formulär. I have had to calculate the percentages.

the plain, the communities were richer but more clearly polarized. This confirms a result already obtained by Swedish historians: the plains of Scania, the rich part of the province, were more advanced than the hills in their development. They had reached a higher level of differentiation between farmers and labourers at the beginning of the 19th century.¹

The settlement pattern was not the same in the two parishes: it was fairly nucleated in Arrie while it was of the scattered type in Hörröd which was composed of a collection of hamlets and isolated farms like Briec.

Appendix

The following maps show that Arrie and Hörröd were located in two distinct parts of Scania: in the region of Arrie, in the plains, the agrarian reforms started early in most villages, often before the end of the 18th century. Utskifte and Storskifte were the two first types of reorganization of the village community. Both came as a consequence of the rise of agrarian individualism.

Utskifte meant that a farmer left the communal organization and built a compact farm where he was free to cultivate whatever crops suited him.

The purpose of storskifte was to "repartition and realLOT the soil of every village into large, consolidated

¹ See: Dahl (S) Strip fields and enclosure in Sweden, Scandinavian Economic History Review, Vol 9, n° 1, 1961 (Uppsala) pp. 56-57. Maps of Scania showing regional differences in the application of the successive agrarian reforms (storskifte, utskifte, enskifte, lagaskifte).

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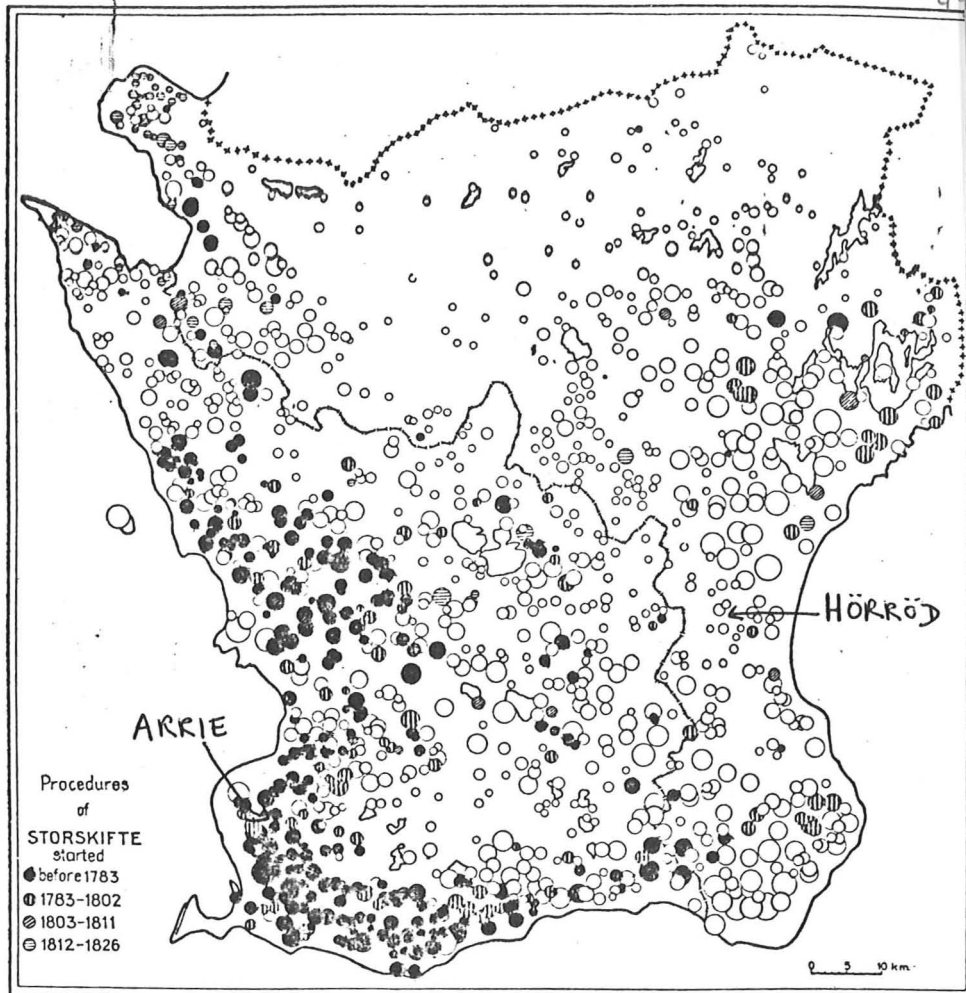
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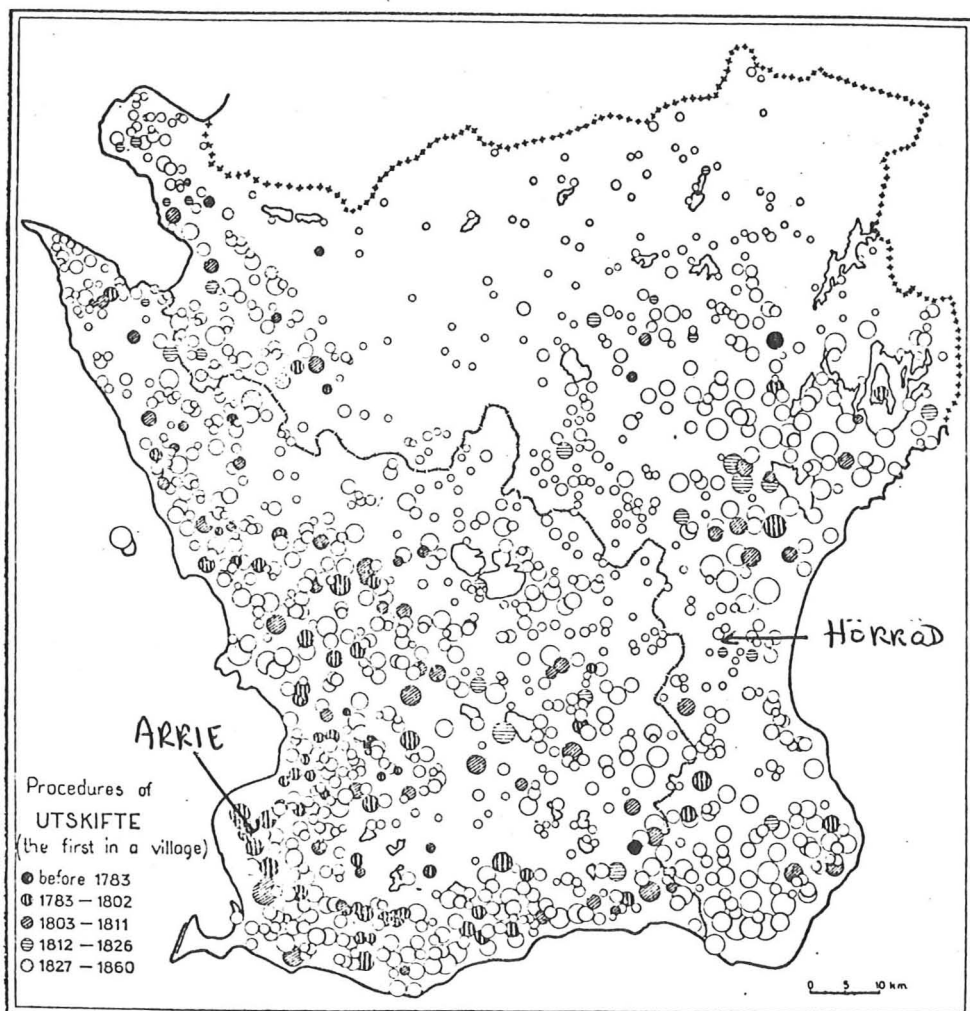
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After Dahl(S) - Strip fields and enclosures
in Sweden



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holdings (one or a small number per farmer) replacing the multiplicity of small strips". But the old two-field or three-field system was not broken by this rather mild reform.

Later, a more radical reorganization and break up of the traditional community took place with the enskifte and lagaskifte procedures. The final purpose of these reforms was to consolidate a stable middle peasantry. It is interesting to note that the process was more advanced in the plains (Arrie) than in the hills (Hörröd) around 1820.¹

In the explanation of the variance between the four regions - Artois, Tuscany, Brittany and Scania - the emphasis is put deliberately on the differences between local agrarian systems rather than on other characteristic features, nationality for instance, or a loosely defined 'culture' (a set of socio-psychological attitudes predominant in a region or country and independent from agrarian organizations). The purpose of the essay is more to compare the lives of a labourer and of a share-cropper than those of an Artesian and of a Tuscan. The exact position of the Briec peasant is more difficult to establish; no single social type (labourer, farmer...) was numerically predominant and representative of the social system as a whole. This also applies to Arrie and Hörröd.

¹ See: Dahl S. Strip fields and enclosures in Sweden Maps pp. 64-65.

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Differences between local agrarian systems will be a major explanatory variable (or independent variable). But the logical position of this assumption is only that of an hypothesis.

Interference in village life from the larger society, of the central government, for instance, has not been taken into account and neither have a number of juridical remains from earlier periods, still important at the national level but made obsolete by the evolution of the local agrarian system itself. An example of this type of silent disappearance was given by feudal dues in Longuenesse: the absolute concentration of land in the hands of a few farmers simply obliterated them. In the process, they merged with the total and variable money-rent.¹

In a few cases, it has proved necessary to introduce independent cultural features as the explanation of a phenomenon. But here, the introduction of the term 'culture' is not in itself explanatory. What it means simply is that the agrarian system does not explain everything and that one should look elsewhere for a 'cause'.

Even then, one must be very careful in dealing with cultural differences. The peasants of 18th century Briec could not speak French; the Artesian dialect was closer to the Tuscan than to the Breton language. In 18th century France and Italy the province was the natural unit to

¹ England provides the best example of a silent disappearance of a manorial system. See Bloch (M) Seigneurie française et manoir anglais, p. 16.

consider. It would be wrong to assume for these two countries the degree of homogeneity characteristic of England in the same period. Sweden had, on the whole, a fairly homogeneous culture. But it must be remembered that Scania, conquered in the 17th century, was in many ways more Danish than Swedish. Hallines, Longuenesse, Wisques and Briec were not typical of France, nor Pratolino of Italy. In the same way, Arrie and Hörröd cannot be considered as representative of the whole of Sweden. Then, what is the value of our sample?

One can safely consider the capitalist farming system of 18th century Artois as equivalent to the English type of agricultural organization in the same period. English farms, as described by G.E. Mingay, seem to have been very similar to their Artesian counterparts.¹ Typical elements - the large size of farms, the employment of rural labourers by big farmers, the fluctuating rent in cash - existed in both England and Artois. It is difficult to accept the idea that the two systems, in Northern France and England, were similar because comparative research on agrarian systems is not very advanced.

One of the few books which provide a comparative study of French and English agriculture since the Middle Ages insists on the differences rather than the similarities. And to make things worse, this book happens to have been written by a highly respected historian whose position has

¹ Mingay (G.E.) The size of farms in the 18th century, Ec. His. Rev. 2nd ser. XIV - 1961-2.

² See bibliography: Agrarian history.

not been questioned: Marc Bloch in Seigneurie française et manoir anglais.

The similarity between England and Artois applies only to one stage in their development: the 18th century. What struck Bloch was the divergence between the paths followed by France and England since the Middle Ages. Sheep, Norman kings and enclosures were certainly very important. But the concentration of land and the mercantilization of agriculture progressed in large areas of Northern France without sheep and enclosures as incentives.¹ In the end the return of England to crop cultivation accentuated the resemblance between the two systems. What was left of the differences was the field pattern which cannot be considered as fundamental in itself.

One should add that the origin of a number of mistakes in the interpretation of French rural history is the reluctance of many French historians in the past to consider France as a collection of agrarian systems rather than as a unified whole.

The persistence in France, even now, of a middle and small peasantry is indeed a striking feature, but it is found only in some regions. These provinces account for the general perception of the phenomenon at the national level. But no middle and small peasantry existed in 18th

¹ "C'est aussi en Flandres, en Artois, en Picardie, dans le pays de Bray et le Vexin, en Beauce, en Brie, que se trouvent les plus grosses fermes et que dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle on opère souvent des réunions de fermes". H. Sée Histoire économique et sociale de la France pp. 178-179.

century Artois and in large areas of the Paris region. This kind of mistake is impossible when one is doing a small community study with a nominative listing as basic documentation.

I have studied Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines rather than equivalent villages in England because the quality of the documentation is so much better for France than it is for England. English nominative listings cannot be used for the reconstitution of kinship networks for technical reasons.¹

The mezzadria system also covered regions other than Tuscany, in large areas of Southern France for instance, under the name of métairie. Comparative research in this field being almost non-existent, there is no need for a preliminary refutation.²

One can take as an example of share-cropping the agrarian system described by Marcel Merle for the Southern French province of Poitou. In the 18th century, it was almost entirely similar to the Tuscan mezzadria.³

It is more difficult to estimate how representative Briec was, since one cannot define the feudal system as a

¹ See below, chapter 4.

² The agrarian history of Italy is not very advanced. Historians of Italy have been naturally more interested in urban history. There is almost nothing on Italy in Slicher Van Bath's Agrarian History of Western Europe. On this point and on a recent change of attitude: Zangheri (R) The historical relationship between agricultural and economic development in Italy.

³ Merle (M): La métairie et l'évolution agraire de la Gâtine Poitevine de la fin du Moyen-Age à la Révolution.

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single ideal type. It is, impossible to consider Briec in 1773 as equivalent to the 13th century English villages described by George Homans.¹ Brittany represented an individualistic variety of feudal system, with a countryside of enclosed fields, a relatively unimportant manorial demesne and few communal customs and practices. The English village in champion country was the opposite of Briec in all these respects. One may also note that the classic medieval seigneurie was not the original type for Brittany as it was for Artois and Tuscany.

But despite all these restrictions it seems possible to establish a number of features as common to most feudal systems. On one condition: it will be necessary to establish a general subdivision of the type according to the degree of population pressure. Some unity of the type will appear clearly in the field of family and household structure.

It is also difficult to find in the 18th and 19th centuries examples of a stable middle peasantry other than the Swedish. Indeed, the history of Sweden is unique: no other European peasantry had the same independence and power. Swedish farmers, for instance, had a separate representation in Parliament (Riksdag). However, some regions of 19th century France where owner-occupiers were predominant after the Revolution might turn out to be comparable.

¹ Homans (G.C.) English villagers of the thirteenth century.

Very clear differences in the fields of household structure, geographical mobility and kinship organization will appear between the various types of peasant community. Western Europe does not seem to have been very uniform in these respects. Differences in agrarian organization will explain many of these variations.

CHAPTER II

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

The method used in this chapter for the analysis of household structure from nominative listings of inhabitants is fairly similar to the one elaborated by Peter Laslett in his introduction to Household and family in past time. The type of document - early censuses - is the same and the categories used for the classification of households can be found in Household and family in past time.¹

The conclusions, however, are different, mainly owing to a difference in the criteria used for the selection of a sample of peasant communities. Laslett's main conclusion is that the simple family household, the nuclear family, was probably predominant in pre-industrial Western Europe.² This first conclusion, based on the statistical evidence available in 1969 can now be challenged. Further research, along the lines proposed by Laslett, has brought to light a number of contradictory cases. Briec and Pratolino are two striking examples.

"The obvious message of the evidence presented in table 1.15 has already been stressed. The nuclear family predominates. In all the communities we are comparing, households of any form more complex than the simple family

¹ Household and family in past time p. 31.

² A simple family household is composed of a married couple and possibly children. A widowed person and children are also counted as a conjugal family unit.

household were in a minority, and in a tiny minority in Ealing and Bristol: in fact the classic nuclear family of man, wife and children formed the household, with or without servants, in more than half of the Western European cases, and in a third of the others."¹

This statement, in so far as it concerns Western Europe, refers only to the evidence presented by a set of a hundred English communities and the Northern French village of Longuenesse. But the South German village of Löffingen and the Italian village of Colorno in the Po valley which are presented in another table of the introduction would support this hypothesis.² A majority of the individual contributions to Household and family in past time, particularly on the Netherlands, Corsica and on another Northern French village in the 19th century, also provide arguments in favour of the view that the nuclear family was predominant in pre-industrial Western Europe.

Laslett underlines the existence of a number of complex forms of household organization in South-Western Europe - in France and in Italy - but as minority types because none of them has up to now been proved to be really predominant in any particular region, whereas the statistical preponderance of the nuclear family has been demonstrated by the figures obtained for England and Longuenesse, and a number of other cases.

¹ Household and family in past time, p. 59, table 1.15 p. 85.

² Household and family in past time, table 1.3 p. 61.

"We must tread warily here, for we have not been comparing other countries or nations with the English, only individual communities with an English standard and an English village. Longuenesse may not be easy to separate in a systematic way from the English standard, though we have seen that there would probably be no difficulty with settlements in the Southern regions of France. To assume indeed that the whole of France formed a distinctive national area from the point of view of household structure would be absolutely unjustifiable. The same goes for taking Colorno for Italy, Lesnica for Poland, Löffingen for Germany, or even Belgrade for Serbia, Nishinomya for Japan."¹

It seems to me that the concept of 'distinctive national area', whether it is applied to the whole of France or to Northern France and Southern France separately, can be very misleading. This will explain the divergence of two sets of results derived from a single technique of analysis.

¹ Household and family in past time, p. 62.

Presentation of the results

Table 2

Types of household	Longuenesse (Artois) 1778	Pratolino (Toscana) 1721	Briec (Bretagne) 1773
Solitary	1	5	5
No family	6	2.5	1.5
Simple family households	76	34	55
Extended family households	14	14.5	29.5
Multiple family households	3	44	9
Total number of households	66	41	495

Table 3

Total number of households	: 52
<u>Hallines 1776</u>	Household structure
Types of household	
Solitary	6%
No family	2%
Simple family households	78%
Extended family households	12%
Multiple family households	2%

The predominance of simple family households in Longuenesse in 1778 was very marked: 76% of the total number of households. Figures for the neighbouring village of Hallines in 1776 are almost identical. The proportion of simple family households was 78% in this second parish.¹ The predominance of the nuclear family in this particular region of France, Artois is thus confirmed. But Pratolino and Briec clearly diverge from this pattern.

Briec presents a very different picture. Simple family households there made up only 55% of the total number of households listed in 1773. Extended family households, without being a predominant type, were an important category: 30% of all households. If we add the 9% of multiple family households we reach a total of 39% of complex family forms, which is far from negligible.

But the most striking result concerns Pratolino where the most frequent type of household was, in 1721, the multiple family household. Families including at least two married couples account for 44% of the total number of households. This last figure is extremely high and indeed represents a Western European record in the field of household complexity. The total percentage of complex households, when the extended family households are added to these multiple family households, is very close to 60%. This seems to weaken an important proposition of Household

¹ Figures for Hallines are not presented in Household and family in past time.

and family in past time:

"It is simply untrue as far as we can yet tell, that there was ever a time or place when the complex family was the universal background to the ordinary lives of ordinary people."¹

It is true that 60% of complex families cannot be considered as a universal background. But it means that in Pratolino, in 1721, 78% of the peasants lived in complex households.² It seems that even in Briec, a majority of the population lived in complex family households. In Trebozen, a small part of the parish of Briec, but the most representative for household structure, where 39% of the households were complex in 1773, 53% of the persons lived in these complex households. The percentage of complex households tends to under-estimate the relative importance of complex family forms for the population because it is easily overlooked that the number of persons in each complex household is much greater, in a majority

¹ Household and family in past time, Preface p. xi.

² See Appendix 6, percentages of persons living in complex and simple family households. Peasants = mezzadri + pigionali = share-croppers + labourers.

of cases, than in each simple family household.¹

In Pratolino, if not in Briec, living in complex family households was a majority phenomenon, on a scale which equals the predominance of living in simple family households in England in the same period.

Interpretation: household structure and agrarian system

In a peasant community the size of households depends to a large extent on the type of relationship between household and farm, and on the size of farms.² But there

¹ See Appendix 6, percentages of persons living in complex and simple family households. Mean household size is there presented separately for simple F.H. and complex F.H. There is a strong analogy between this type of measurement, percentage of persons living in complex F.H. and in simple F.H. and the concept of Mean Experienced Household size, proposed by J. Halpern and presented by Laslett in Household and family in past time (Introduction, page 40).

"M(E)HS looks at the household from the point of view of the individual rather than of the domestic group. It is an attempt at a single measure of all the answers which would be given if every member of a community were asked, what size of household do you live in." "The ratio is reckoned by multiplying by the size category the total numbers living in each size category of households, adding these results together and dividing by the total population." But the distribution of persons into five categories of households (as opposed to the distribution of households into five categories) makes it possible to avoid the problems often raised by the concept of Mean household size, and the problem of the correspondance between household size and degree of complexity of household structure.

See: Laslett (Introduction to Household and family in past time pp. 39-40, 54). See measures of Mean Experienced Household Size for Longuenesse, Briec and Pratolino in appendix 5, Measures of household size.

² On family and labour force see: Chayanov, Theory of the peasant economy.

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is no strict relationship between the size of households and the size of farms. To a big farm may correspond a relatively small household. The employment of wage-labour, external to the household, may keep the size of the household at a low level. The integration of non-kin servants into the household is another possibility which determines an increase in the size of the household. But this entails no further degree of complexity in the family structure of the household, at least according to the Laslett typology.¹

What is described here is the adjustment of household size to the farm size, but one could conceive the opposite case of an adaptation of the size of the farm to a fixed size and structure of the household, to a size and structure of the family considered as a norm by the peasant themselves. This is only a theoretical possibility in the present context. In Longuenesse, Hallines, Wisques, Pratolino and Briec, the peasants did not own the land, whether they were big farmers as in Longuenesse, Hallines and Wisques, sharecroppers as in Pratolino, or belonged to one of the many varieties of tenants as in Briec.

In Longuenesse and Wisques combined, only 16% of the land was owned by the peasants. The proportion was higher for Hallines, 45%, but not high enough to have any influence on household size. The proportion of peasant-owned land would no doubt have been even lower in Pratolino

¹ A simple family household to which servants are aggregated remains a simple family household, with servants.

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than in Longuenesse but the documentation does not permit a precise estimate. A similar calculation for Briec is equally impossible and would not be entirely meaningful because ownership of land was not as clearly defined there as in the two other areas of study. But the balance of forces, as far as the definition of property rights in land was concerned, was certainly in favour of the landlord¹ and this implies that the tenants were not free to decide on the size of their households and farms.

Under the technical conditions of agricultural production in the pre-industrial period, relatively big farms had the advantage of a number of scale-economies, whatever the legal framework of the agrarian system. A farm large enough to maintain and fully use a plough and a corresponding team of draught animals had a fundamental advantage. The stabilization of the size of farms or even their enlargement should have been a permanent preoccupation for the landlord, at least when the situation of the market made surpluses profitable. This is what happened in Longuenesse and Pratolino.

The evolution of agriculture in Artois favoured the concentration of the land in the hands of a few big farmers for a number of reasons connected with technical improvements.² This was also true of the Tuscan mezzadria.

¹ See chapter 3 on geographical mobility, for a detailed analysis of the relationship between owner and tenant in Briec.

² See for England: Mingay (G.E.) The size of farms in the 18th century.

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The formation, from the 14th to the 16th century, of large and compact poderi was a major technical improvement. The mezzadria was much more than a simple share-cropping contract between owner and tenant, when it began. The constitution of a new podere was a form of investment and of rationalization of farm management in a period when labour was scarce. Only later did the term mezzadria become associated with technical stagnation.¹ This also applies to the Poitou métairie: the difference lies in the fact that in Tuscany the movement was initiated by the Florentine "bourgeoisie" and in Poitou by the local nobility.²

Capitalist farming and share-cropping both appeared as forms of rationalization of agricultural production and both types of rationalization implied an increase in the average size of farms. But the consequences of the enlargement of holdings for household structure were different in the two systems.

In the case of Longuenesse the household was only partly adjusted to the size of the farm by the addition of a number of servants. The main expedient was the employment of the bulk of the peasant community as wage labour. It goes without saying that the very small size of the plots held by the rural labourers was no incitement

¹ Jones (P.J.) From manor to mezzadria. Duby (G) L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes.

² Merle (L) La métairie et l'évolution agraire de la Gâtine Poitevine.

to increase the size of their households. This was true even in the case of Hallines where 45% of the land was owned by peasants, for a large part of these 45% belonged to a few wealthy farmers. Household structure in Artois was not determined by the size of farms. In 1780 in Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques the nuclear family was the norm for both types of peasant, big farmers and labourers.

For both these social categories one can see, in Tables 2 and 3, a number of extended family households: but these were in no way connected with the necessities of farm management. Most of the individuals added to the conjugal family unit, which constituted the core of the household, were old people, generally widowed.

In Pratolino, production was organized on a family basis and the use of additional labour, not belonging to the household, was only marginal. The number of labourers (pigionali) was insignificant and even the proportion of servants in the total population was small: 5% as against 13% in Longuenesse. The size of the household was adjusted to the large size of the farm, either by combination of two conjugal family units (CFUs) or by addition to one conjugal family unit of several related but unmarried individuals. This is the reason for the very large familial groups found in Pratolino and for the very high Mean household size of 8.5.¹

¹ See Mean household size in Pratolino from 1721 to 1733, appendix 2.

One must be aware of the fact that this was not the result of an independent peasant attitude but a direct consequence of the general economic system. The existence of the podere precedes the formation of the household. This farm was truly an unchanging 'institution' in the agrarian landscape of Tuscany. Tenants had to adjust to its size.

The complexity of family structures reached a maximum in Pratolino and was probably higher there than the Tuscan average. Table 4 compares Pratolino to two other Tuscan parishes situated in the hills closer to Florence. These cases are less complex than Pratolino: the multiple family household is no longer the leading type (proportion of multiple family households: Pratolino 44%, San Martino a Maiano 17.5%, Santa Maria a Ontigano 18.5%).

The number of simple family households does not make up for the losses: the extended family household becomes the dominant category (Pratolino 14.5%, San Martino a Maiano 55%, Santa Maria a Ontigano 44.5%). If we add the percentages of extended and multiple family households in the three parishes we obtain a proportion of complex forms higher for San Martino a Maiano and Santa Maria a Ontignano than for San Iacopo a Pratolino. (San Iacopo a Pratolino 58.5%, San Martino a Maiano 69.5%, Santa Maria a Ontignano 63%).

Pratolino was extreme although not untypical. The Mean household size for eight Tuscan parishes (including Maiano and Ontignano) confirms this estimation of the

Table 4

Household type	San Iacopo a Pratolino	San Martino a Maiano	Santa Maria a Ontignano
Solitary	5	-	-
No family	2.5	4.5	-
Simple family H.	34	26	37
Extended family H.	14.5	52	44.5
Multiple family H.	44	17.5	18.5

Table 5 Pratolino

Household type	<u>Poderi</u>	Others
Solitary	-	8.5
No family	3.5	-
Simple family H.	10.5	75
Extended family H.	25	16.5
Multiple family H.	60	-

70

representativeness of Pratolino.¹ Mean household size was rarely above 8 but for most rural parishes seldom below 5. This was indeed a high average when compared to most of the results presented in Household and Family in Past Time and concerning Western Europe.

It is possible to demonstrate the fact that the poderi were responsible for the very high household size. Let us distinguish two categories of households in the Status Animarum: poderi and others. The difference in Mean household size between the two groups is striking: 10 for the poderi, 5.6 for the others (Table 5). It is interesting to note that when all poderi are eliminated from the distribution into the five categories proposed by Laslett, the percentage of simple family households goes up to 75%, a number which is almost equal to its counterparts for Hallines and Longuenesse: 78% and 76% respectively. One must nevertheless be wary of the very small absolute number represented by these 75% obtained for Pratolino. This result seems to indicate, however, that the complicated household structure measured for Pratolino was not the consequence of a mental aberration on the part of the peasants but the natural outcome of economic constraints. And the mezzadri were not in any way in control of the economic organization.

It is interesting to note that in the case of Pratolino the evidence from statistical work agrees with the impression

¹ On these parishes see appendix 2.

gathered from literary and polemical sources. The number of 10 persons per poderi is the standard given by most works based on contemporary assumptions rather than censuses.¹ Both literary sources and statistical research stress the high degree of complexity of family structure in 18th and 19th century Tuscany as compared to England and Artois in the same period.

Large households are still typical of Tuscan mezzadri: their average size was 7.3 in 1931 and 6.0 in 1961.² In Pratolino the most typical household was a frèreche associating two married brothers, their wives and children, and sometimes a few unmarried or widowed adults. The Italian word for frèreche is fratellanza.³ The "lateral"

¹ See: Pazzagli (C) L'agricoltura Toscana nella prima metà dell'800 p. 438: "Si può considerare 'equilibrata' una famiglia colonica composta complessivamente da non meno di 9-10 membri". This applies to the 19th century. On the 18th century, see: Caroselli (M.R.) Critica alla mezzadria di un vescovo del '700 pp. 28-32. This estimate gives 10 to 12 members to the peasant family (famiglia colonica).

² Barberis C. Sociologia rurale p. 187 / Tavola III - Ampiezza media delle famiglie dei lavoratori in proprio, secondo il tipo d'impresa.

³ "F. Moryson, an English traveller contemporary to Shakespeare and a keen observer of various countries' customs and institutions, once said this about Italy: 'Never I did observe brothers to live in such unity as in Italy, so as the father being dead, many of them ordinarily live in one house together, not dividing their patrimony, but having all goods in common or as they call it brotherhood (vulgarly fratellanza) and persuading one to marry for procreation, the rest living unmarried and much respecting their brothers wife and her honour as their own...' etc..." Quoted by Cipolla (C.M.) Four centuries of Italian demographic development P. 578 (570-587).
F. Moryson, Itinerary, ed. Ch. Hughes, London 1903, Vol I, pp. 156 and 409. However, one could argue about the second aspect, the celibacy of all brothers but one: in Pratolino the most frequent type of co-residence associated two married brothers.

organization of multiple family households - 75% of multiple family households were composed of two married brothers as against 25% composed of parents and their married son - shows that the complexity of family structure in Pratolino was not connected with the ideology of the stem family. In an analysis of the stem family in Austria, Lutz Berkner succeeded in maximizing the number of households following a stem-family pattern, rightly pointing out that households appear as multi-generational at certain stages only in their developmental cycle.¹ Such an analysis is not even necessary in the present case: complex forms were in any case predominant in Pratolino.

Briec, as opposed to Pratolino or Longuenesse, cannot be considered as an ideal or pure type, representing a homogeneous population. The results for Briec do not have the clarity of the previous ones, whether in simplicity as for Longuenesse or in complexity as for Pratolino. Extended family households were fairly numerous (nearly 30%) without exceeding simple family households in proportion (55%). The total percentage of complex forms (nearly 39%) is clearly higher than the figures obtained by Berkner for another type of feudal system in Austria.² According to the manorial census of 1763 which he used, only 25% of all

¹ Berkner (L.K.) The stem family and the developmental cycle of the peasant household: an 18th century Austrian example. See also: Goody J. ed. The developmental cycle of domestic groups Introduction by Meyer Fortes pp. 1-14.

² Berkner (L.K.) The stem family and the developmental cycle of the peasant household: an 18th century Austrian example p. 406.

peasant households included any kin and could be considered as complex.¹ Family structures, when considered at one point in time, were more complex in Briec in 1773 than in the Waldviertel in 1763. One can note, nevertheless, that both feudal systems were characterized, in the field of household structure, by the relative importance of vertically organized complex forms (multi-generational) although these were never really predominant, again at one point in time.

Table 6

Briec 1773 Complex households (multiple + extended)

Types of kinship links within complex households

Associating parents and children	97	50%
Associating siblings	37	19%
Associating both, or more distant kin	58	31%
Total	192	100%

It is impossible to distinguish with precision different types of peasants in Briec, according to wealth and size of farms, because the nominative listings do not always record

¹ In Berkner's typology 'extended' includes Laslett's extended and multiple categories. I do not know whether or not Berkner's 'nuclear' category includes Laslett's categories 'Solitary' and 'No family' as well as simple family households; perhaps these categories were negligible in the Austrian Waldviertel. The fact that the two sets of categories fail to coincide cannot really affect the outcome of the comparison.

the occupations of household heads.¹ It is not even possible to distinguish labourers from farmers as Berkner does. But the number of complex families in Briec is made all the more impressive by this fact, since a correlation between the size of farms and the size and complexity of households can be taken for granted. Berkner was able to establish such a correlation with absolute rigour, and a clear demonstration will be given in the case of Sweden. But even without eliminating from the households of Briec those of labourers, who had a high propensity to live in nuclear families, the number of complex forms was higher than in the Waldviertel.

The rather wide but non-polarized distribution of farm sizes seems a sufficient explanation for the balanced distribution of the households into the different categories (Simple, extended, multiple). No fundamental reorganization of the agrarian system had taken place in Briec in 1773, and, in particular, the process of concentration of land by a few farms was not far advanced. As opposed to Longuenesse and Pratolino, there were not many big or very big farms.²

No feudal system was ever composed of tenures equal in size. Some degree of differentiation was in the interest of the lord, in particular the existence of at least a few

¹ But one can identify non-agricultural occupations: nobles, craftsmen, innkeepers, priests, beggars.

² See also: Meyer (J) La Noblesse bretonne p. 666.

bigger farms.¹ It may be added that disparities in social conditions within the peasant community were an important factor of social stability. The lord of the manor had an interest in averting a total fragmentation and uniformity of the tenures.

This describes an ideal and rational behaviour.

To farm middle-sized or big holdings the peasant family adjusts by associating several adult generations or adding some brother or sister to a complete conjugal family unit, or by integrating servants. But servants in Briec were fairly often related to members of the household. One obtains a minimum of 8% of related servants. This result must be opposed to the negligible proportion of servants sharing their surname with their employer in 21 English village communities.² The number of servants related to their employer was also negligible in Longuenesse. This is another feature common to Longuenesse and England. The position of non-kin servants in a household was probably closer to that of relatives in Briec than in Longuenesse. The presence of a large minority of servants also described as kin may simply show that the two categories were far from distinct in the mind of the Briec peasants. It was the vicar who tried to establish a difference.

The predominance of vertical links within complex households (parent-child) over lateral links (between

¹ See chapter 1, page 43

² Household and family in past time, Introduction p. 57.

siblings) may have corresponded to the need to emphasize the hereditary and permanent nature of the rights of the peasant to his holding in a system where property rights in land were poorly defined. The unstable definition of these rights could be the reason for endless controversies. For the peasant, vertical family structure may have been an attempt at stability. In Briec complex family households were less mobile than simple family households.¹

In Briec, as in Pratolino, the household had to adjust to the size of the farm. Large households, numerous in Briec, predominant in Pratolino, were probably not the result of a deliberate choice by the peasants themselves. Their family ideals do not seem to be reflected by the global size of the household but by the details of its composition. A number of persons had to live together to cultivate a large farm but the agrarian system did not imply that particular people had to be associated. The choice made by the peasants of Briec was different from that of the share-croppers of Pratolino.

Composition of large households in Pratolino and Briec

Some Italian historians insist on the decisive role of the landlord, through his fattore (steward), in the formation and control of the family groups; but the relations between owner and tenant were not close enough for such a control to be effective. The study of

¹ See chapter 3 on geographical mobility.

geographical mobility following this chapter and the analysis of choice of godparents should make this point clear.¹

In Pratolino, additional kin were used to adjust the size of the household to the size of the farm, rather than additional servants or unrelated families. In this Tuscan parish the number of servants was small, 5%, as compared to 13% in Longuenesse and Briec. In the Pratolino listings, servants are not even called by the standard term garzone but their status has to be deduced from the fact that they are not related to the family occupying the podere. This remark applies only to Pratolino. In other places, and in other listings of inhabitants such as those of San Martino a Maiano and Santa Maria a Ontignano, servants are called garzone. Service does not seem to have been a fundamental institution in Pratolino.

In Tuscany, no social category other than the mezzadri could provide a large quantity of servants. The Tuscan countryside was fairly homogeneous: labourers were very few and mezzadri accounted for a majority of the population. Servants had to come from somewhere. In Longuenesse, labourers' sons and daughters were employed as servants by big farmers. No social category could have produced a sufficient number of servants in Pratolino.

The relative unimportance of service in the poderi of Pratolino can be seen from another angle. The poverty of the mezzadri deprived service of one of its advantages.

¹ See chapters 3 and 5.

Servants could not really be "exploited", in a majority of cases, in Pratolino.¹ The techniques of cultivation were too primitive to make it possible for the mezzadro to gain a surplus from the work of additional servants. These could produce their own food and little else. The economic position of servants was therefore bound to be very close to that of kin. In theory, kinship relations exclude the possibility of "exploitation" by a kinsman.

The poverty going with the situation of mezzadro meant that the relationship between individuals or families cultivating a podere in association must have been, generally, a relationship of equality. Kinship can be a basis on which to organize relations of economic equality, although it is not the only possible one. Co-operation on a single farm of several unrelated families cannot be considered as theoretically impossible. The total absence of such pairs of co-resident and unrelated married couples shows that, in Pratolino, the peasants really preferred to co-operate with kin. A norm "in the heads of peasants" must be added to favourable economic conditions to explain the fact that all the large households of Pratolino were organized on the basis of kinship relations.

A counter example is given by the case of Briec where households also had to adjust to the size of farms and where poverty and the backwardness of agricultural techniques were probably even worse than in Tuscany. Economic conditions would seem to favour the choice of kin as

¹ This is not true of the richer poderi located in the valleys of Tuscany.

additional labour force in Brittany. In Briec, as in Pratolino, the land was too poor and agricultural techniques were not productive enough to make it possible for the peasants to "exploit" their servants. The confusion between the situation of servants and that of kin would also seem to be natural in Briec: 8% at least of the total number of servants were also described as kin-connected to the head of the employing household in 1773. However, this implies that a large majority of servants were not related to their employer. Service must have been an important institution in Briec, and not as a mere by-product of kinship relations. Small and middle peasants in Briec employed unrelated persons to adjust the size of their households to the size of their holdings more frequently than was the case with Pratolino mezzadri.

Another aspect of the structure of complex households seems to indicate that a clear norm existed in Pratolino, concerning the kinship basis of large households, and that the situation was different in Briec.

The absolute patrilocal pattern in the organization of complex households (whether extended or multiple) in Pratolino was a striking feature which cannot be considered as linked to the necessities of the economic system.¹

¹ The pattern of residence after marriage is patrilocal (or virilocal) as opposed to matrilocal (or uxorilocal):

- patrilocal : the wife moves to live in her husband's family or village.
- matrilocal : the husband moves to live in his wife's family or village.

In more than 90% of the complex households of Pratolino, the kinship relations between the two married couples passed through males, between two brothers or between a father and a son. In 1721, only one household did not correspond to a marriage system in which the wife left her family of birth to join her husband's family.

This cultural feature was independent of the agrarian system.

This very clear patrilocal pattern is common to many parts of Italy.¹ It has been analysed by Christiane Klapisch in her articles on family structure in 15th century Tuscany; in those days the patrilocal aspect was already accompanied by a predominant lateral structure in the rural parts of Tuscany.²

A patrilocal preference was evident in Briec, but by no means absolute. Only two thirds of the complex households in which one or two parents were associated with a married child, linked a son and his parents and one third linked a daughter and her parents. Again, nothing in the agrarian system seems to explain the preference for patrilocality and why this bias was not as powerful as in Pratolino.

Patterns of residence after marriage, analysed in greater detail in chapter 3, also seem to indicate that a certain number of norms existed in Pratolino concerning

¹ Klapisch (C) Household and family in Tuscany in 1427, in Household and family in past time. See also Klapisch and Demonet A uno pane e uno vino Annales ESC.

² Klapisch: Household and family in Tuscany p. 280.

the composition of large households, but that the categories of persons associated in Briec complex household were not strictly determined by local norms. There was a preference for patrilocality in Briec; kinsmen were often chosen to adjust the size of the households to the size of the farms, but this does not seem to have been as deliberate or "conscious" as in Pratolino.

Household structure and agrarian system

Only one of the three types of peasant community presented so far supports the view that the nuclear family was predominant in pre-industrial times in Western Europe. But how representative is this sample?

No selection was possible in the choice of a sample of peasant communities in 1969, and Household and family in past time simply presents the evidence available at that date. The resulting sample of communities tends to over-estimate the regions where a really modern kind of agricultural organization prevailed in pre-industrial times. The criterion of selection used in the case of Longuenesse, Briec and Pratolino is the type of local agrarian system and this ensures a maximal variety of results.

The case of Longuenesse is also examined in Household and family in past time. Laslett points out that Longuenesse does not represent the whole of France, but the reason for this lack of representativeness is not given. One feels that it must be connected with a "cultural

difference" between peasant mentality in Northern France and in Southern France. If this hypothesis is chosen, it is also logical to consider Northern France and England as two distinct cultural areas. Since in both England, as represented by a hundred communities, and in Northern France as represented by Longuenesse, the simple family household was predominant, one is tempted to deduce from the comparison of the two areas that there was in pre-industrial times some degree of independence of the family system because it was identical in two distinct cultural areas. The simplicity of family structure would be the consequence of that independence. It is true that Northern France was culturally different from England; religion was one of many easily discernible differences.

But if the agrarian system is taken as the main explanatory variable, instead of "cultural" differences, the significance of the similarity between England and Longuenesse is that the same cause, capitalist farming, produces the same effect, the nuclear family. Longuenesse provides a repetition of the case of capitalist farming rather than an example of another type of cultural area. However, that repetition, when contrasted with the results obtained for other agrarian systems, seems to confirm the assumption that the agrarian system is a fundamental variable for the explanation of the differences or the similarities found between various areas in the field of household structure. This certainly does not mean that capitalist farming is the only agrarian system likely to

produce a predominance of the nuclear family. Small farms, for example, in any type of agrarian system, would imply the existence of small households. But according to the definition presented in the introduction to this essay capitalist farming is connected with the existence of very large farms. Presenting England as a whole representative of agrarian capitalism is a gross oversimplification. Marked regional differences could be found in 18th century England in the field of agrarian organization although the nuclear family was everywhere predominant. Several types of agrarian organization must favour the appearance of simple family households. The villages of Colorno, an Italian village in the Po valley, and of Löffingen in Württemberg, presented in one of the tables of Household and family in past time show that capitalist farming sometimes explains - but not always - the predominance of the nuclear family.

The case of Colorno, the Italian village in the Po valley, seems to be similar to that of Longuenesse.¹ Only 20% of all households there were extended or multiple in 1782 (Mean household size: 4.16).

The following quotation applies to a wide region and not to the village of Colorno itself.

"In the 18th century, when a new period of progress began, the predominant feature of the Lombard countryside was large productive units run by wage labour, while the

¹ Household and family in past time, Table 1.3, p. 61.

crop system was integrated with the raising of livestock in a considerable part of the plain, and an industry based on dairy farming".¹

The case of the South German village provides a counter example. An approximate percentage of 10% of all households were extended or multiple in 1687, but M.H.S. was relatively high 5.7.² Capitalist farming must be excluded for Württemberg. The reason for the simplicity of household structure there must have been connected with the average size of farms. As Slicher Van Bath puts it "in South Germany there were innumerable small farms". However, this statement refers to the later period of the 18th and early 19th century.³

This preliminary study of the relations between agrarian system and household structure in Colorno and Löffingen, if added to the cases of England and Longuenesse, tends to show that the sample of rural communities presented in Household and family in past time gives too much weight to rural communities where the agrarian system favoured the formation of simple family households. Other villages representing other types of agrarian system, such as Brieç or Pratolino, seem to have implied the existence of more complex forms of household structure. These sketchy remarks

¹ K. Zangheri (R) The historical relationship between agricultural and economic development in Italy p. 36, in Agrarian change and economic development, E.L. Jones and S.J. Woolf Editors.

² Household and family in past time, Table 1.3, p. 61.

³ Slicher Van Bath (B.H.) The agrarian history of Western Europe, p. 323.

on the agrarian system at Colorno and Löffingen cannot be considered as final. But a systematic and comparative investigation of the local agrarian systems of the villages already studied for household structure is possible and worth undertaking.

One of Laslett's ideas is confirmed by the results obtained for Briec and Pratolino, the absence of a linear pattern in the development and evolution of family forms. If the three communities which compose my main sample are classified according to an increasing degree of complexity of family structures one obtains the following arrangement:

Table 7

	Mean household size : M.H.S.	Percentage of complex households
1 - Longuenesse (simplest)	5.1	17%
2 - Briec	5.5	39%
3 - Pratolino (most complex)	8.3	60%

But if the same communities are arranged according to the degree of modernity of the agrarian system (modernity is here defined by a theoretical model, without reference to a time-scale; its elements are the definition of property-rights in land, the degree of perfection of the labour market, productivity of labour, etc...) the sequence is altered: Briec and Pratolino change places.

- 1) Longuenesse remains as number 1, as the most modern.
- 2) Pratolino now comes second.
- 3) Briec comes last as the most backward place.

The mezzadria, as an improvement in the agrarian organization, provoked a marked increase in the degree of complexity of family structures. The most complicated households ever studied for Western Europe were a consequence of a progressive re-organization of agriculture. Thanks to the work of C. Klapisch we have figures concerning household structure in Tuscany at the beginning of the modernization process in the 15th century. Although the sample of Tuscan communities presented here is by no means as good as the total survey undertaken by Klapisch it seems that we can follow the increasing complexity of households from the 15th to the 18th century.¹

The share-cropping and feudal systems described in this essay seem to have acted as an external constraint on the size and structure of the household. The peasants, in Tuscany and Brittany, had no way of controlling the size of farms and therefore had to live in large households. When the agrarian system leaves the peasants free to choose their type of family organization, as is the case with capitalist farming, it seems that they naturally tend to live in simple family households, as wealthy farmers and labourers did in Hallines and Longuenesse. This is on the whole a new version of an old thesis: the nuclear family as a product of modernization, of a complete form

¹ Klapisch (C) Household and family in Tuscany in 1427 in H.F.P.T. p. 275. See Mean household size in the country around Florence: 1427: 5.1. But it is true that M.H.S. for the country around San Gimignano was as high as 7.5.

of modernization. In the case of Pratolino, an intermediate form of modernization - share-cropping - produced the most complex family forms ever found, in the present state of research, in pre-industrial Western Europe. But in Longuenesse and Hallines, industrialization was not responsible for the simplicity of family structure.¹ It is the change in the agrarian system itself, coming long before industrialization, which made it possible for the peasants to live in nuclear families.

The difference between Briec and Pratolino shows that large households do not always imply the formation of complex family structures. In Briec, a large number of servants were used to adjust the size of the households to the size of large farms. This implies that the agrarian system does not explain everything. Different types of peasant attitude can produce different types of household structure for a single type of agrarian system. But the existence of large farms in a situation where these farms cannot be cultivated by external and hired labour certainly favours the appearance of complex household forms. However, kinship seems to have been more important in Pratolino, where it appears to have been a necessary basis for the formation of large households, than in Briec where service also played an important part.

¹ On the supposed relationship between the conjugal or nuclear family and industrialization see Goode W.J. World revolution and family patterns.

Before we turn to the case of family organization in Sweden some methodological aspects of household structure analysis must be developed. Up to now, we have taken for granted that the groups of persons described in early listings on inhabitants were households. This was an oversimplified view.

The definition of the household in ecclesiastical records

The basic assumption, when one studies the structure of the family at the time of the French Ancien Régime, is that the meaning of the word "famille" (family), as that of "feu" (hearth), in the 18th century, was equivalent to that of household nowadays. If this definition is adopted, the structure of the family in Longuenesse in 1778 seems to have been quite simple. Out of 66 households ("famille"), 55 were "simple family households", composed of parents and their children.

In seven other households the nuclear family was slightly extended to include one or two unmarried individuals. Only one household out of 66 included two coresident married couples (multiple family household). The nuclear family was predominant.

But let us reconsider the concept of household. Three main criteria have a part in its definition: a household is a group of individuals living under the same roof, sharing a number of economic activities - production and consumption - and possibly related by blood. The main criterion is that of coresidence. Now the "roofs", the

dwellings, were registered by the 1780 land survey, and 10 of the 66 "familles" of Longuenesse appear not to have had a dwelling-place. A household without a residence is by definition absurd.

The listing enumerates the "familles" according to a geographical pattern: to record people, the vicar followed the same itinerary through the village streets every year. Generally, the "familles" close to each other on the listing were neighbours in the village. Who then lived next to those "familles" without a residence? In five cases out of ten, one of the two immediately neighbouring "familles" was closely kin-connected. Suggested by surnames, these relations can be traced by using the family reconstitution which gives us a village genealogy. In another of the ten cases, the neighbour's name is the same as that of a member of the "famille" but the connection, probably more distant, was untraceable. Out of the four remaining familles without a dwelling-place, one was that of a shepherd who may have been accommodated by his employer, and the other three should be taken as a single case for they are grouped in the listing and probably lived in a sublet house together.

Let us summarize this enumeration: out of ten "familles" without a residence, five, maybe six, had some kin as immediate neighbour in the listing. There is only one possible explanation: five "familles" lived with their neighbouring kin and were part of wider families, multiple families. The five odd "familles" combined with four

90
related "familles" into four larger units: multiple family households.¹

Follows a distribution of households, before and after correction, according to the five categories proposed by Laslett:

Table 8

	First version		Corrected version	
Solitaires	2	1%	2	3%
No family (no married couple)	4	6%	4	7%
Simple family households (nuclear family)	50	76%	41	67%
Extended family households (nuclear family + individuals)	9	14%	9	15%
Multiple family households (several married couples)	1	3%	5	8%
Total	66	100%	61	100%

The structure of the family still appears fairly simple. There are only five multiple family households. All five were households of labourers. However, the correction is far from negligible: the proportion of simple family households goes down from 76% to 67%. The percentage of complex forms goes up from 17% to 23%.

What this minute study suggests is that one cannot identify two concepts: the 18th century "famille" and nowadays "household". It seems that the local vicar, Antoine

¹ Four and not five because one of the complex units combines three "familles".

Hubert Hiecq, used the word "famille" with the meaning of nuclear family; not exactly since it included servants. And one of the "familles" was a multiple family. The vicar's criteria were far from perfect.

The same kind of critical analysis could be applied to the village of Hallines.

The case of Briec is different. We have for this Breton parish two nominative listings of inhabitants written by two different priests, with a four year interval between the two. This period of time being rather short, there is no change at all in the structure of a great many households from one census to the next. And we can see directly that the definition of the household (in this case called "maison" or "famille" - house or family) used by the two priests was not the same. The first listing (1769) tends to consider some multiple or extended households as two distinct simple family households or as one simple family household plus one "solitary" or "no family" household. It is reasonable to consider the second of the two listings 1773, which maximizes the number of complex households as closer to the real situation, to the concept of household as it is defined by sociologists or as it would be defined by the peasants themselves.

It is thus fairly easy to solve the problem of the definition of the household for Briec and for Longuenesse. I did not present the corrected figures for Longuenesse earlier in the course of the essay because the actual

distortion is not very important. But we must realize that some distortion may exist.

One might wonder why no problem is raised by the nominative listings of Pratolino in which enormous households are very common. The definition of the household was evident in Pratolino, springing directly from the agrarian organization: the podere was the household. This isolated farmstead could not be broken into a number of households. It really suggested itself to the vicar as the unit of measurement.

In Briec, the settlement pattern was also one of scattered houses. But these houses were grouped in small hamlets and the land corresponding to a particular farm was not concentrated around the buildings. The Breton farm was not, like the Tuscan podere, an isolated unit in the agrarian landscape. In Briec, a nuclear family or a household were not immediately identifiable as the occupiers of a well-known farm. This, combined with the juxtaposition of several houses in a hamlet, made several interpretations possible for the vicar.

The problem can be expressed in more general terms. The more perfectly scattered the settlement pattern, the easier and the more evident the definition of the household, the smaller the distortion likely to be created by ecclesiastical registration. The more nucleated the settlement pattern, the greater the possibility of alternative definitions of the household.

Berkner, in a general article on Rural family organization in Europe studies in great detail the relations between social structure and family system. He suggests that the study of household structure should not be carried out with census data alone but should also take into account various aspects of the social structure as a whole: economic functions, settlement pattern, etc... Many of the arguments developed in his article closely parallel the conclusions presented here.

The case of Hörröd and Arrie is even more difficult to interpret: on some aspects of household structure no definite conclusion can be reached.

Arrie and Hörröd¹

What are the groups of people enumerated in the nominative listings of Hörröd and Arrie? Households? Families?

The formulär for Hörröd makes it possible to confirm that the human groups described in the listings were considered as households by early 19th century priests. The formulär gives a distribution of households (Swedish: hushåll) according to wealth and size. A mean household size for Hörröd can immediately be deduced from this tabulation. The mean household size thus obtained is identical to the one I calculated directly from the

¹ A fundamental article has been published on household structure in Scandinavia: O. Löfgren, Family and household among Scandinavian peasants. However, very little quantified research on household structure has been carried out in Sweden.

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nominative listings. This only shows that the definition of the household used in the measurements is the same for me and for 19th century priests. The documents do not make it possible to prove that this concept adjusts well to the sociologists' idea of a coresident group.

Table 9

Mean Household Sizes

- <u>Hörröd</u>	: deduced from the <u>formulär</u> (1820)	5.32
	deduced from the listing (1820)	5.24
- <u>Oxie district</u>	· <u>formulär</u> (1820)	5.53
- <u>Arrie</u> (belongs to Oxie district)	listing	4.95

Household structure

The households of Arrie and Hörröd can be classified according to the Laslett typology. The distribution thus obtained is very similar to the one for Hallines and Longuenesse: simple family households predominate.

Table 10

	Hallines 1774	Longuenesse 1778	Arrie 1818	Hörröd 1820
Solitaires	6%	1%	2%	6.5%
No family	2%	6%	3%	3%
Simple Fam. Households	78%	76%	75%	76%
Extended F. Households	12%	14%	18%	9%
Multiple F. Households	2%	3%	2%	5.5%
<hr/>				
Total number of Households	52	66	62	124

It is, at this stage, rather tempting to assume that this simple structure reflected - in Scania as in Artois - the existence of a well developed labour market: farmers employing wage-labour do not have to increase the size and complexity of their households to control a suitable labour force. This was the explanation put forward to account for the situation in Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines. However, a more critical analysis of the documents shows that household structure was not that simple in Arrie and Hörröd. A careful reading of the nominative listings reveals that in a surprisingly large number of cases employers and servants bore the same surname. A fair proportion of these servants must have been related to their employer. Many "simple family households with servants" should therefore be considered as extended family households. Table 11 proposes a new distribution of households which, although still following Laslett's typology, considers the persons recorded as servants but bearing their employer's surname as kinsmen. This could increase, by a large amount, the proportion of extended family households.

Table 11

1) <u>Hörröd 1820</u>	2nd estimate	1st estimate
Solitaries	5%	6.5%
No family	3%	3%
Simple family households	56%	76%
Extended family households	29%	9%
Multiple family households	7%	5.5%

2) <u>Arrie 1818</u>		
Solitaries	2%	2%
No family	3%	3%
Simple family households	71%	75%
Extended family households	22%	18%
Multiple family households	2%	2%

According to this second estimate the total number of complex family households goes up to 36% in Hörröd against 14.5% previously. There is little variation in Arrie: 22% instead of 20%.

It is very difficult to choose between the two estimations. We know that a number of kinsmen were simply registered as servants. However, not all servants and employers sharing a common surname were actually related. In early 19th century Scania surnames were not of the English, French or Italian type: the Swedish system must have produced a considerable number of unrelated individuals bearing the same surname.

Swedish surnames were derived from the father's christian name. Pehr son of Sven Anderson was called Pehr Svenson (= Pehr, son of Sven); Karna, daughter of the same Sven Anderson, was called Karna Svensdotter.

The stock of christian names was not a very large one and as a consequence the number of surnames was not very large.

As a consequence many people, although unrelated, bore the same surname. On the other hand, individuals having different surnames could be related on the second or third degree of consanguinity. If we consider that these two types of bias (unrelated individuals bearing the same surname / related individuals bearing different surnames) were of equal importance we must accept the second estimate as closest to the truth.

Extended family households in Arrie and Hörröd: kinsmen and servants

The second estimate reveals the existence of important differences between the two Swedish villages. The proportion of extended family households is now higher in Hörröd (29%) than in Arrie (22%). Simple family households make up 71% of the total number in Arrie against 56% in Hörröd.

The second distribution for Hörröd is much closer to the one obtained for Briec; as far as Arrie is concerned, Longuenesse and Hallines remain the most similar types.

Table 12

Household structure: second estimate for Hörröd and Arrie
Comparison with Hallines, Longuenesse and Briec

	Hörröd	Briec	Arrie	Hallines	Longuenesse
Solitaries	5%	5%	2%	6%	1%
No family	3%	1.5%	3%	2%	6%
Simple F.H.	56%	55%	71%	78%	76%
Extended F.H.	29%	29.5%	22%	12%	14%
Multiple F.H.	7%	9%	2%	2%	3%
Complex F.H. (ext. + mult.)	36%	38.5%	24%	14%	17%

The difference between estimate 1 and 2 is much greater in the case of Hörröd (extended families pass from 9 to 29% = + 20%) than of Arrie (18% to 22% = + 4%). In Hörröd, servants were more often chosen among kinsmen. The situation in Arrie reminds us of Longuenesse: in most cases, servants seem not to have been related to their employer.

The lesser degree of social polarization in Hörröd probably explains why servants were sometimes chosen among kinsmen, as in Briec. Poverty - Hörröd was a poor community¹ - induces equalitarian relationships, family type relationships: the difference in status between master and servant cannot be a clear one. In richer and more polarized societies like Arrie or Longuenesse a sharp contrast existed between master and servant, between farmer

¹ See chapter 1 pages 45-46

and labourer. Not choosing servants among kinsmen was a necessary precaution for maintaining a measure of social distance between master and servant.

Stem-Family ?

If we want to study the existence - or non-existence - of a stem-family pattern the definition of the household becomes a crucial problem.

The retirement system of the Swedish peasants is a well-known institution. Once he had reached a certain age the father of an adult son left the farm to his heir and retired with his wife in a special cottage. The procedure often took the appearance of a formal sale or a detailed contract.¹ The married son, new master of the farm, had to provide his parents with food (and money). It is difficult to know whether this system was an ideal norm, put into practice by a minority, or a pattern applied by the majority.

Another question must also be asked: should the old and young married couples be considered as two separate and distinct households or as a single unit?

A stem-family pattern would imply the existence of at least a strong minority of multiple family households, associating two adult generations. A stem-family pattern

¹ Similar systems could be found in various regions of Germany and Austria. See Berkner (L) Rural family organization in Europe. On Sweden, see Löfgren O., Family and household among Scandinavian peasants

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implies the existence of only a minority of extended and multiple family households: stem-families combine three generations at one stage only in their developmental cycle.¹ However, the proportions of extended and multiple family households given in the first estimate for Arrie and Hörröd are very small (if we study three-generation families we must go back to the first estimate; families extended by the adjunction of a related servant cannot be "stem-families").

Table 13 Households associating three generations

<u>Arrie</u>	Extended	11%	of the total number of households		
	Multiple	1.5%	"	"	"
<hr/>					
	Total	12.5%			
<hr/>					
<u>Hörröd</u>	Extended	6%	"	"	"
	Multiple	5%	"	"	"
<hr/>					
	Total	11%			

Although small, these percentages are by no means negligible if we consider that the period during which stem-families associate several generations is fairly short. But a fair number of households seem not to have followed a developmental cycle of the stem-family type.

¹ See Goody J. editor. The developmental cycle of domestic groups pp.1-14 *Introduction by Naya Foster*

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The rather small proportion of multiple family households could be explained by the fact that retired couples living in a cottage of their own were not counted as belonging to their married child's household: in fact, there is no reason why a stem-family organization should imply the existence of a single household associating parents and adult children. Children provided their parents with food, but the two couples must have led independent lives. Berkner rightly notes that several independent criteria have a part in the definition of the household: common residence, domestic functions, themselves divided into common consumption and common production. We might consider that only common production existed in Scania, since married children provided their parents with food, but not common consumption and residence. One should also check on the distance between the retirement cottage and the main body of the farm. As in some regions of Germany, the census taker might have considered an arrangement such as the Swedish as not composing a complex family household. As Berkner puts it: "Where we choose to draw the line depends both on the thorough understanding of this particular society and the investigator's choice of definitions, which may be influenced by his own proclivity towards emphasizing or de-emphasizing the importance of the role of the extended family in the social structure".¹

¹ Berkner (L) Rural family organization in Europe: a problem in comparative history.

Household and farm

In Arrie and Hörröd, as in Longuenesse, the existence of a labour force with very little land (labourers, cottagers...) made it possible for the farmers to live in relatively small households. It was not necessary to increase the size of the household to adjust it to the farm: outside labour could be used. Even more important: labourers' families tend to be small in size and simple in structure. Mean household size was 4.9 in Arrie, and 5.3 in Hörröd. These figures are fairly close to those observed for Hallines (4.9), Longuenesse (5.1), and even Briec (5.6). In 18th century Brittany also a substantial proportion of labourers could be found. The only community in our sample with a very small number of labourers was Pratolino where mean household size reached 8.6.

This relationship between household size and community socio-economic structure seems to be verified in all cases:

- Fair number of labourers: small households.
- Almost no labourers: large households, if farms are big.

However, even when there are labourers, most farms must employ at least a few permanent servants. If these are chosen among kinsmen, a fairly small mean household size is combined with the existence of a strong minority of extended family households. If the servants are not related to their master the households remain simple, with servants.

Wealth and household size

The formulären give a distribution of households

according to wealth and size. Significant percentages can be calculated for the district of Oxie as a whole.

Table 14

number of persons per household	0-2	2-5	5-10	10-15	over 15	M.H.S.
Rich	-	5%	65%	23%	8%	9.14
Medium	6%	29%	51%	13%	0.7%	6.63
Poor	18%	56%	25%	1%	-	4.15
Paupers	40%	40%	17%	-	2%	3.38

Total number of households: 1767

The relationship between household size and wealth, as described by this tabulation, is almost perfect. The richer, the bigger. In a predominantly rural society, wealth was the amount of land held by an individual: table 14 can therefore be considered as representing a relationship between farm size and household size.

This very much recalls a table in an article by Berkner which also showed the existence of a strong correlation between complexity of households and wealth.¹

Farmers are probably best represented by category 2 (medium), and labourers by categories 3 and 4 (poor and paupers).

¹ Berkner (L) The stem-family and the developmental cycle of the peasant household: an 18th century example p. 408.

Labourers' households were obviously small. But the farmers' households are not very big (6.63) as compared to the mezzadri's households of Pratolino (M.H.S.: 10.0). The existence of labourers was probably responsible for the smaller size of farmers' households in Scania.

In Sweden, as in Artois, Tuscany and Brittany, family structure seems to have been closely connected with agrarian organization. Labourers' families, as in Longuenesse, Hallines and Wisques were small. Rich farmers had more numerous households. Again, in Hörröd, as in Pratolino and Briec, poverty seems to have created a kind of family relationship between master and servant. This explains why more complex household structures existed in these communities. Agrarian differentiation, on the other hand, produced a greater social distance between master and servant: the predominant simple family households found in Longuenesse, Hallines and Arrie seem to reflect the clear distinction between the roles of kinsman and servant. Choice of godparents - analysed in chapter 6 - will confirm the existence of fundamental differences between Arrie and Hörröd concerning the position of servants.

The study of kinship networks should follow that of household structure. It is concerned with the question of kin relations in a community taken as a whole. But for the sake of clarity, the analysis of geographical mobility patterns must come first. Geographical mobility is an essential element in the interpretation of indices of kin-density. One has to know the mobility patterns in

Longuenesse and Pratolino in order to give a correct interpretation of the similarities and differences between kin-densities, whereas the study of geographical mobility is self-sufficient.

The following chapter begins with a comparison of mobility in Longuenesse and Pratolino. Mobility in Brieç constitutes a distinct part because the results for this last parish are of a slightly different nature than those for Pratolino and Longuenesse. The Swedish villages of Arrie and Hörröd are also studied separately, again for technical reasons.

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AND THE LIFE CYCLE

Geographical mobility is one aspect of the relations between several communities - between villages or between a village and a town. It is one of the characteristic features of peasant communities that they cannot be considered as isolated and independent units: peasant societies, as opposed to primitive societies, have contacts with members of dominant social classes, with markets and towns.¹

However, the kind of analysis proposed in the following pages emphasizes the importance of relations between villages rather than between villages and towns. We shall not be dealing with short trips to market towns but with movements of at least a year in duration, not with casual trips but with changes of residence.

It must also be pointed out that in the four small regions studied here, rural depopulation had not yet started. Arrivals and departures were almost perfectly balanced in all the villages of the sample for which mobility indices could be calculated (Longuenesse+Wisques, Briec, Pratolino, Arrie, Hörröd). What we can observe is a complex system of exchanges of population between villages belonging to the same small region. As villages

¹ This point is developed by R. Redfield in Peasant society and culture.

belonging to the same region had fairly similar economic functions we can already assume that geographical movements between villages did not have a primarily economic purpose. The kind of mobility we are going to measure does not result in a new distribution of the labour force, as rural depopulation does. It occurred within fairly stable economic systems. There was a connection between social and economic stratification on the one hand and geographical mobility on the other, but it must be borne in mind that the movements were useless from an economic point of view.¹

For the period of the Ancien Régime, the study of geographical mobility has up to now focused on one particular stage of the life-cycle: marriage.

The information given by the marriage entries of parish registers often makes it possible to draw a map of the birth places of spouses. By this method, one obtains the proportion of husbands and wives born and married in the same village, or arrived from other villages situated at various distances. This technique measures a particular kind of geographical mobility, one of slow periodicity, as it registers the final outcome of all the

¹ See note page 118 on the symmetry of movements between villages.

movements of an individual from birth to marriage.¹ It makes it impossible to know how and when individuals reach their place of marriage and whether or not they leave it afterwards by moving again.

The method devised by Yves Blayo for a Northern French village in the 19th century, once adapted to 18th century documents, enables us to fill in the gaps.² It consists in comparing several censuses, taken at different dates, to see who enters and who leaves the community between these dates. The use of the parish registers, of the baptism and death entries,³ prevents the confusion of a death with a true departure or of a birth with a true arrival. Blayo uses the civil censuses of the mid-nineteenth century, the periodicity of which is quinquennial. I have adapted his method to the religious censuses of the Ancien Régime; their periodicity, when regular, is

¹ One can give the titles of a number of local and regional studies proposing this type of measurement: P. Goubert, Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730. The I.N.E.D. monographs: Crulai (L. Henry, E. Gautier). Trois villages de l'Île de France (J. Ganiage), Familles paysannes au XVIII^e siècle en Bas-Quercy (J. Valmary) ... etc. M. Lachiver, La population de Meulan du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle.

I am here interested in methods offering direct possibilities of comparison: Roger Schofield obtained a measurement of age-specific mobility for the parish of Cardington by using a very exceptional nominative listing (for the year 1782). But this local census which indicates the place of residence of all children having left their parents' home is unique.

² Blayo (Y) La mobilité dans un village de la Brie vers le milieu du XIX^e siècle. Population Mai-Juin 1970, pp. 573-605.

³ Blayo uses the civil registration of the post-1792 period.

annual. This applies only to Longuenesse and Pratolino; the "periodicity" of the Brieç Status Animarum cannot be said to be regular: only two listings, four years apart. In Sweden, the existence of migration registers means that the periodicity of the censuses is relatively unimportant.

The censuses must indicate ages. The intensity of geographical mobility according to age will describe one aspect of the life cycle of individuals: the very short periodicity of the liber Status Animarum - one year between two consecutive listings - has the advantage of being a natural unit of measurement. Geographical mobility calculated for different ages reflects the changes in the situation of individuals, their relationship with the family and the community.

An analysis of the birth-places of spouses would indicate for Longuenesse and Pratolino fairly high rates of exogamy and important distances between place of birth and place of marriage.

Differences in geographical mobility between Longuenesse and Pratolino would be very slight indeed.¹

Method: indices of arrival and departure by age

Let us consider a five-year age-group at the beginning of the period of study, 1721 for Pratolino, 1780 for

¹ In this chapter (geographical mobility and the life cycle) Longuenesse is taken as a parish: it includes the village of Longuenesse itself, plus the smaller village of Wisques which belongs to the same parish.

Longuenesse. Its departure index will simply be the number of departures of individuals belonging to this age-group during the five following years (1780-1785, 1721-1726), divided by the average size of the age group during the same period of five years. This is repeated for the next period starting for Longuenesse in 1785 and for Pratolino in 1726. The results obtained for both periods are combined in the following manner:

Departure index of age-group X to X + 5 =

Departures of individuals aged X to X + 5 at the beginning of the first period, during the five following years	Departures of individuals aged X to X + 5 at the beginning of the second period, during the five following years
	+

Average size in the period of 5 years of the age group X to X + 5 at the beginning of the first period	Average size in the period of 5 years of the age group X to X + 5 at the beginning of the second period
	+

Arrival indices are similar: we simply replace the word departure by the word arrival in the preceding formula. An arrival index is the number of arrivals per age-group, divided by the average size of the age-group during the period of five years.

These indices (arrival and departure) represent the number of geographical movements per individual, calculated

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for each five-year age-group. The combination of several five-year periods is made necessary by the small size of both populations, each parish having about 350 inhabitants.

Eleven listings of inhabitants are used for each community to cover the two five-year intervals.

It must be clear that we are not counting mobile individuals but movements: arrivals and departures, and not arriving individuals and departing individuals. The case of a man entering the village, then leaving it, and coming back again within a period of five years (the annual nominative listings make the recording of such rapid movements possible)¹ will be counted as three independent movements: arrival, departure, arrival. The link between the different movements, the man who moves, is broken.

¹ The main difference between this essay and Blayo's is the difference in the periodicity of the censuses. Blayo uses censuses separated by a time-span of five years. My nominative listings are annual. A movement is defined here as: an arrival followed by a departure or a departure followed by an arrival (the individual comes back).

A large number of movements lasting less than five years are not recorded by quinquennial censuses. Blayo therefore leaves aside a number of rapid movements. One cannot say that one of the two techniques is really better than the other: they are adapted to different types of movement, rapid or slow. A method using quinquennial censuses makes it possible to study the slower type of geographical mobility. However, this last method (the one used by Blayo) cannot be considered as perfect: it tends to record one part, and one part only of the rapid movements (of a duration shorter than five years), which are mixed with the movements of a duration longer than five years. This measurement of the slower mobility is therefore not pure, because it includes an unknown number of rapid movements. The proportion of movements of a duration shorter than five years recorded by quinquennial censuses depends on the duration of these movements; this duration is unknown; their number cannot therefore be estimated.

This type of measurement therefore does not take into account the length of time elapsing between an arrival and a departure. Rapid geographical mobility is favoured: a final immigration will have less weight than an arrival and departure marking one year of residence in the village. The purpose of this chapter is to study rapid mobility.

The results are presented as tables and graphs and give indices by age as moving averages, calculated for three age-groups of five years each.

The life cycle in Longuenesse and Pratolino: individual mobility and group mobility

When one observes the curves representing the geographical mobility of men in these two villages an obvious difference appears: the variations in mobility as a function of age are very clear for Longuenesse, much less so for Pratolino. Geographical mobility certainly reflects a life cycle of individuals in Longuenesse but not in Pratolino.

In Longuenesse, men began to leave their family and village at about fourteen. The youths were employed as servants in villages other than their own by the big farmers of the neighbouring parishes. Reciprocally, young "foreigners" (the French 18th century term is forain) came to work in Longuenesse. The mobility of young people rose as they grew older and reached a maximum immediately before the average age at marriage.

Table 15

Age specific mobility in Longuenesse (1780-1790)

Age-groups	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
	Out	In	Out	In
0 - 4	-	-	-	-
5 - 9	12	25	13	18
10 - 14	38	42	28	20
15 - 19	60	63	47	37
20 - 24	72	70	55	49
25 - 29	54	57	46	49
30 - 34	39	32	30	34
35 - 39	24	19	17	15
40 - 44	16	9	16	9
45 - 49	12	10	10	7
50 - 54	8	10	13	6
55 - 59	7	9	11	11
60 - 64	7	8	13	13
65 & +	-	-	-	-

Table 16Age specific mobility in Pratolino (1721-1731)

Age-groups	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
	Out	In	Out	In
0 - 4	-	-	-	-
5 - 9	35	40	49	37
10 - 14	45	41	53	44
15 - 19	45	38	55	47
20 - 24	42	39	65	61
25 - 29	41	34	61	52
30 - 34	42	35	53	43
35 - 39	39	29	36	24
40 - 44	25	23	30	21
45 - 49	18	11	26	17
50 - 54	14	21	18	30
55 - 59	23	24	40	28
60 - 64	28	34	66	22
65 & +	-	-	-	-

Diagram 1 Age-specific mobility of men in Longuenesse
and Pratolino

Longuenesse (1780-1790)-----

Pratolino (1721-1731) —————

Mean age at marriage ●

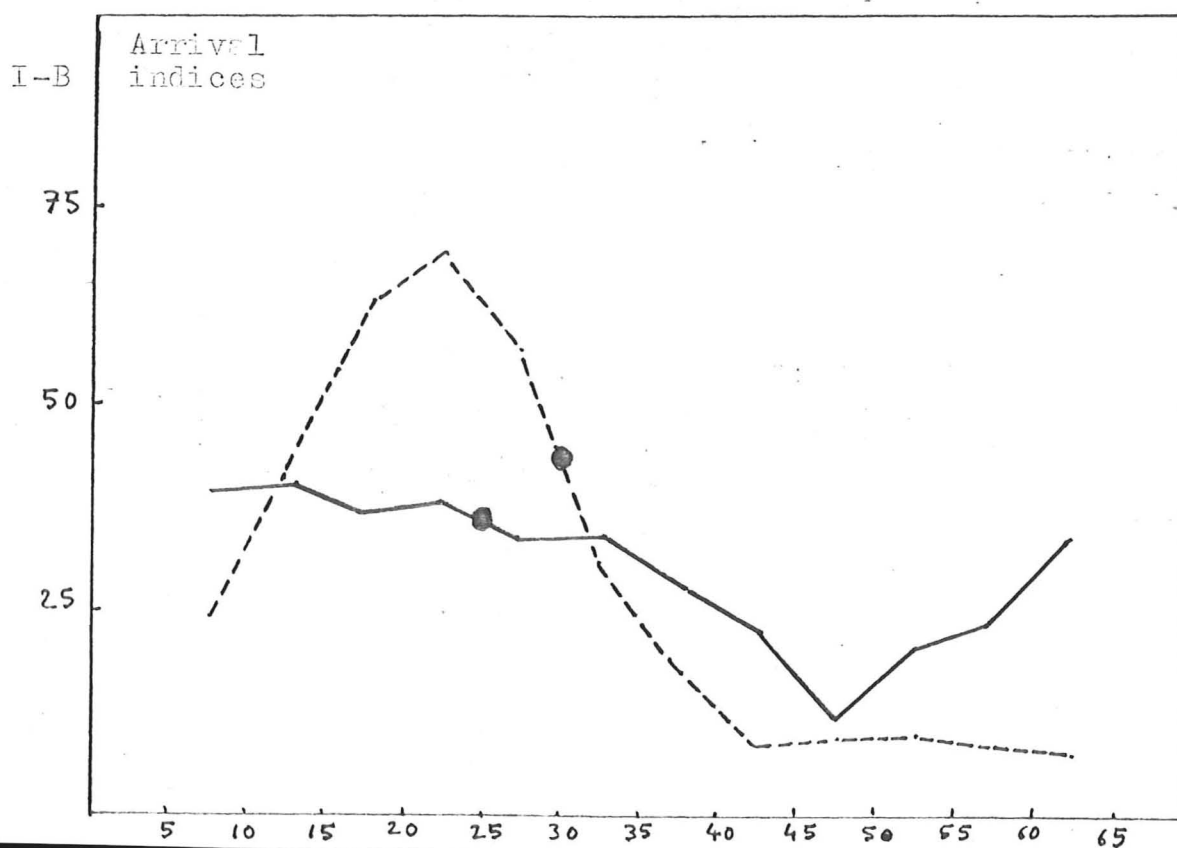
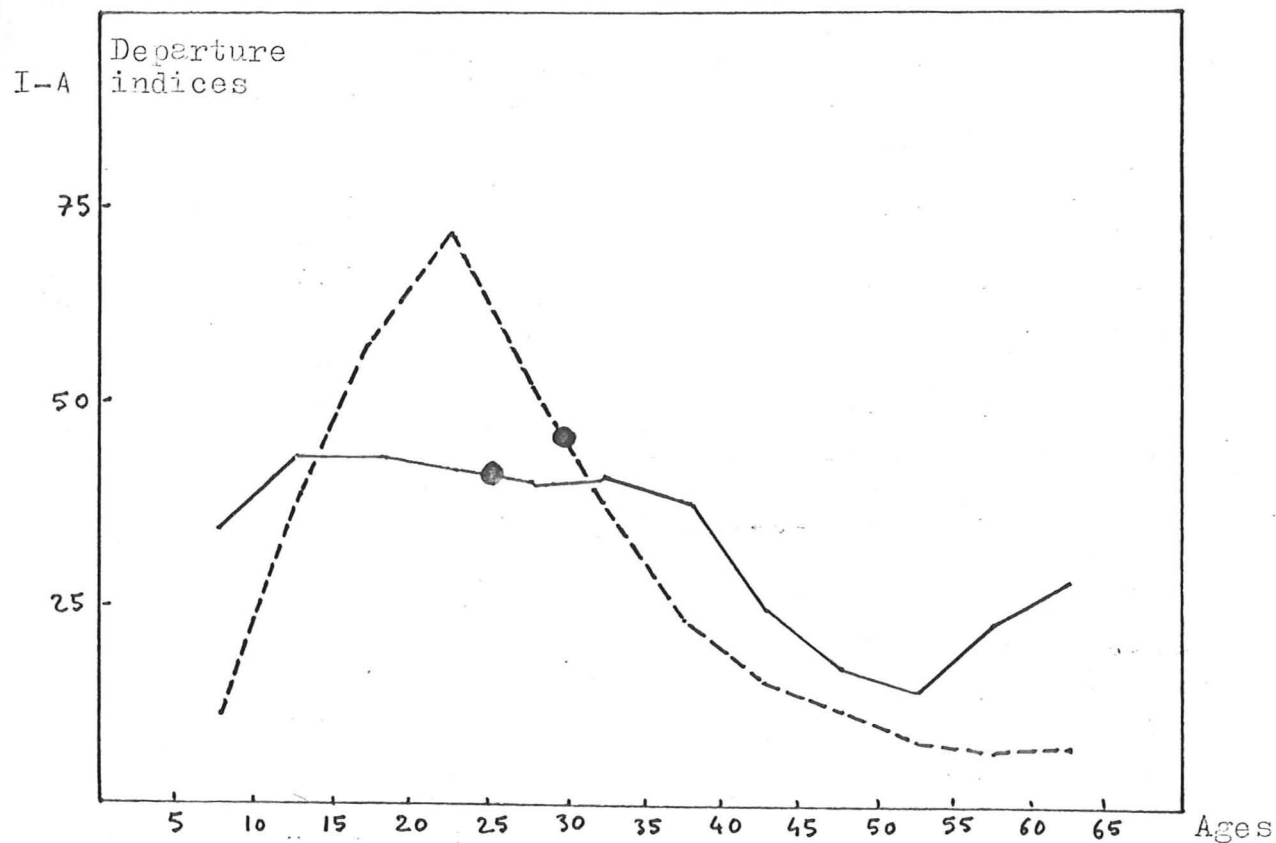
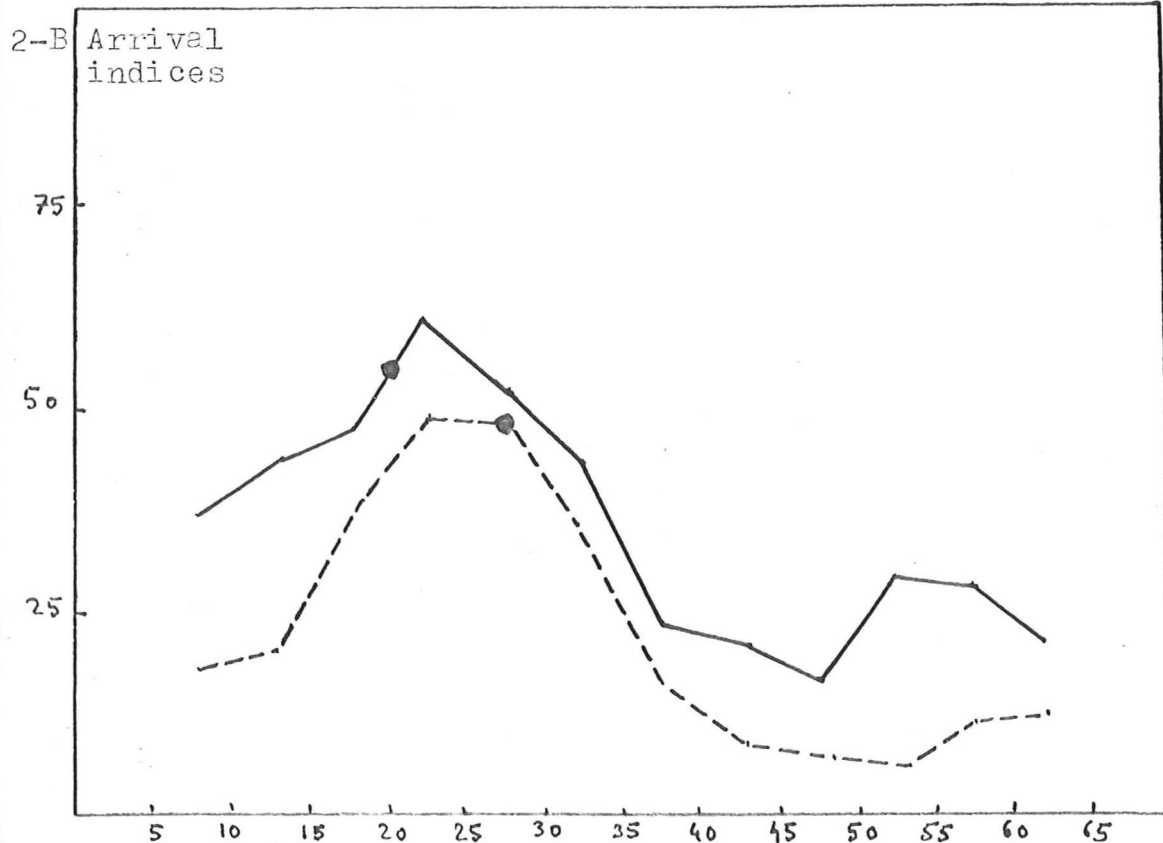
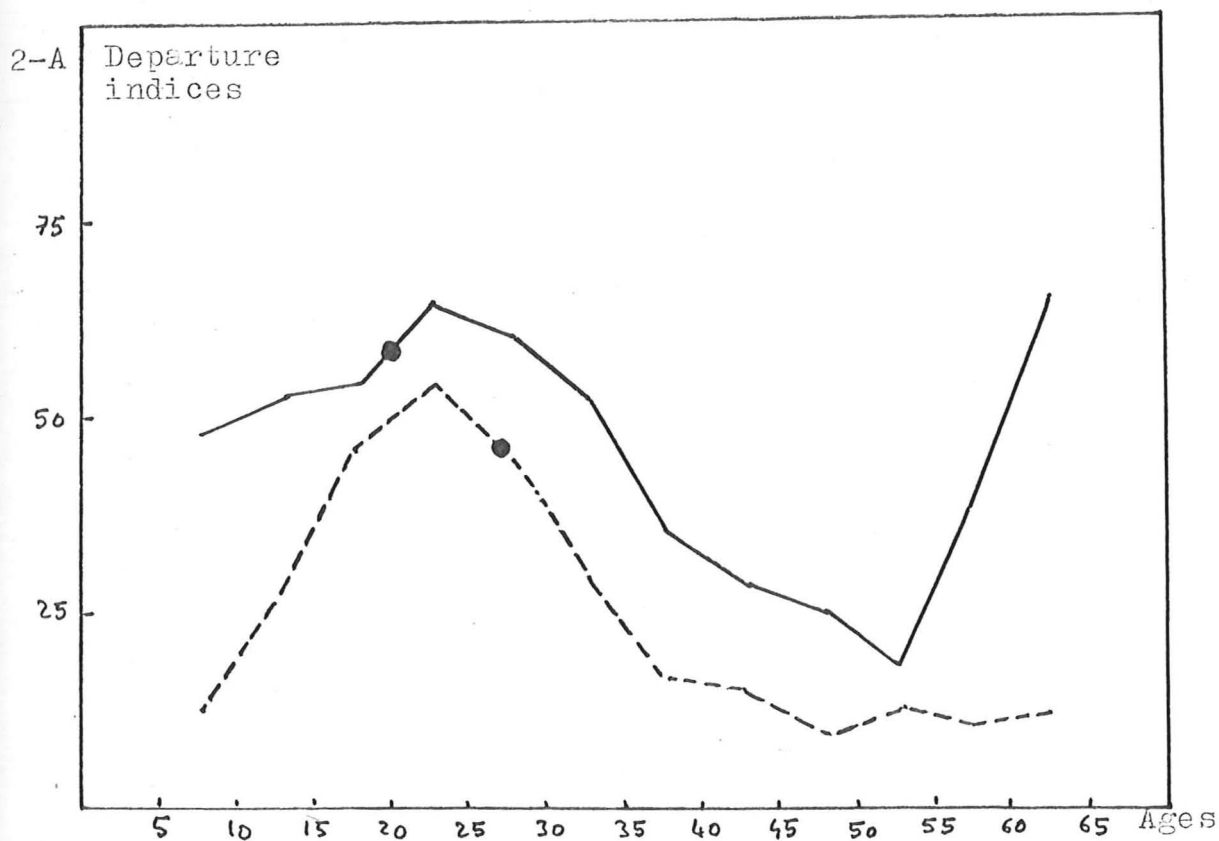


Diagram 2 Age-specific mobility of women in Longuenesse
and Pratolino

Longuenesse (1780-1790)-----

Mean age at marriage ●

Pratolino (1721-1731) ———



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The stage of life during which geographical mobility reaches its peak spreads over 10 or 15 years and coincides with the phase of latency between puberty and the late marriage characteristic of Northern France and of North Western Europe generally in the 17th and 18th centuries.¹

If we link to the phases of geographical mobility the different occupational statuses of labourers in the course of their lives we obtain the following model:

- Phase 1 : Stationary son of a stationary journalier (labourer).
- Phase 2 : Mobile servant leaving his village of birth.
- Phase 3 : Stationary journalier after marriage and "settling down".

One of the important reasons for which young people in search of a job had to move was that the farmers preferred to employ servants alien to the village. Immigrants can less easily be backed up by the village community if there is any conflict with their employer. The resulting mobility of young individuals agrees rather well with the kind of a-priori picture we might have of agrarian capitalism.

But at this point in the life cycle, behaviour ceases to be what we would expect: after marriage, geographical mobility stopped almost totally. The labourers of

¹ One can remark that this study of geographical mobility in Artois confirms a basic assumption of historical demography for North-Western Europe: children did not leave their family before 14. And it will be seen later that after marriage families were also stable. Measurements concerning fertility and infant mortality would not be really perturbed by geographical mobility in a place such as Longuenesse.

Longuenesse did not drift in an endless search for jobs. The conjugal families which composed the simple family households predominant in Longuenesse were stable, almost motionless. Between thirty and sixty, labourers lived in the same village.

The graph describing the mobility of men does not show any kind of rise for the period preceding marriage in Pratolino. The geographical mobility of men there, high since childhood, did not go up after fourteen, fell only after forty and remained for all ages beyond thirty above the level of mobility of men in Longuenesse, whether one is considering arrivals or departures.¹

The fact that there was no rise in mobility before marriage, and no fall afterwards seems even clearer when one knows that the age at marriage was lower in Pratolino than in Longuenesse.

Table 17

<u>Age at marriage</u>	Men	Women
Longuenesse (1780-1790)	33	29
Pratolino (1721-1731)	26.5	22.5

¹ The strong parallelism between arrival and departure curves shows that the geographical movements we are studying were on the whole symmetrical. A clearly negative migratory balance (a possible asymmetrical feature) would reveal the influence of a town (Saint-Omer or Florence) and the existence of a steady migratory flow. Such a flow, but an extremely weak one, existed in Pratolino. But on the whole, the strong symmetry of the curves justifies my choice of the parish as area of study for this analysis of the life cycle. Things would be different if individuals leaving the village were settling in an altogether different type of local society, in a town for instance.

The interval between the age of marriage in Pratolino and the fall in geographical mobility after forty is wide enough to imply that there was no connection between the two phenomena. On the other hand, the coincidence between marriage and decrease in mobility is striking for Longuenesse. One must be wary of the very small absolute numbers represented by these average ages at marriage. But a comparison of these figures with their equivalents in other villages of Northern France and Tuscany shows that they were fairly typical.¹

¹ Mean age at marriage in Northern France and Tuscany

	Men	Women
<hr/>		
<u>Northern France:</u>		
Longuenesse (1778-1790)	33	29
Sainghin-en-Mélantois generation 1740-1789	31	28 (Henry, Daniel)
Trois villages de l'Ile de France-18th century	26	25.5 (Ganiage)
Meulan (1765-1789)	28	26 (Lachiver)
Crulai (1674-1742)	27.5	25 (Henry, Gautier)
<hr/>		
<u>Tuscany</u>		
<u>Pratolino (1721-1731)</u>	26.5	22.5
Fiesole (1650-1700)	27	24 - 1st marriage
Empoli (1650-1700)	29.1	24 - " " (Corsini)

The average age at marriage was slightly lower in Pratolino, and slightly higher in Longuenesse, than the regional average.

The explanation for the difference between the mobility patterns of males in the two communities is the following. In Longuenesse, individuals moved. In Pratolino, what we find is mainly "group-mobility". Young people moved in Longuenesse, families in Pratolino.

Households of mezzadri resembled each other quite closely. Their composition varied only slightly. This implied that every household, as far as its age structure was concerned, had a tendency to constitute a representative section of the population of the parish. An ideal model with no random variation would have made of each household a village age-pyramid on a reduced scale. When one of the households moved the individuals who moved with it were equally distributed among the different age-groups. A curve describing the mobility of individuals drawn for an ideal type would be a horizontal straight line: the greater the number of mobile households, the higher the line on the diagram. The curve representing the mobility of men in Pratolino seems close enough to this model when compared with the curve obtained for Longuenesse.

This result is paradoxical because family structures were simple in Longuenesse and complex in Pratolino. One must try to imagine stable simple family households in Artois and mobile extended and multiple family households in Tuscany.

A study of the mobility of married couples should demonstrate this point. The following table indicates the percentages of married couples entering and leaving the

parishes in a period of 10 years (1721-1731 for Pratolino, 1780-1790 for Longuenesse). On this occasion two listings only are being compared: intermediate arrival-departures are not taken into account.

Table 18

Mobility of married couples - Period of ten years

	<u>Leaving</u>	<u>Arriving</u>
Longuenesse (1780-1790)	6%	9%
Pratolino (1721-1731)	25%	29%

The rates of mobility given here for Pratolino confirm those obtained by Lorenzo del Panta for the region of Fiesole, immediately South of Pratolino. His analysis of household mobility (from tax-records), which covers the years 1683 to 1817, shows that the decade 1721-1731 does not fall within a period of particularly high mobility.¹ One may therefore consider that the rates obtained for Pratolino, although high, were not exceptional. It must be added that complex households were as mobile as simple

¹ Del Panta Aspetti della struttura... pp. 212-213.

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¹ Del Panta Aspetti della struttura... pp. 212-213.

family households in Pratolino.¹

Concentration of land-holding in Longuenesse encouraged early severance of the links between an individual and his family of birth. This happened more frequently and came sooner for men. The main single factor was the necessity of finding a job out of the village. A fair proportion of backwards and forwards movements can be observed, in which a youth left his family, came back later and finally went out of the village for good: a boy leaving for the first time at the age of fourteen had a good chance of returning to spend a few years in his family of birth. In general, the departure of young people from their home seems to have been an economic necessity.

The large peasant households of Pratolino did not favour this early severance of the links between the family and the individuals, at least as far as males were concerned. Between puberty and marriage an adolescent was unlikely to leave his family of birth. Here, the "family" does not simply include parents, but also grand-

¹ Mobile Households : Pratolino 1721-1731

	<u>Arrivals</u>	<u>Departures</u>
Simple family households	4	2
Extended family households	6	6
Multiple family households	6	4

Extended family households are clearly over-represented. Perhaps because extended family households were particularly unstable (they included many old people and not pairs of married brothers).

Proportion of Simple F.H. in the community in 1721 : 34%
 " " Extended F.H. " " " : 15%
 " " Multiple F.H. " " " : 44%

parents, or even more frequently a married uncle and cousins. One must note, however, that the phase of latency between puberty and marriage was much shorter in Pratolino than in Longuenesse, as witnessed by the 6-year interval between the ages at marriage of males in Longuenesse and Pratolino. The difference is the same for women.

Mean age at marriage of men in Longuenesse minus
mean age at marriage of men in Pratolino = 6.5

Mean age at marriage of women in Longuenesse minus
mean age at marriage of women in Pratolino = 6.5

This does not imply that the preservation of the link between a young man and his family was the conscious result of a free decision in Pratolino. It seems that adolescents simply had no reason to move: there does not appear to have been a positive desire to stay put on the part of the young man or an interdiction to leave on the part of the family. Sometimes, a child passed from one family to another, probably to compensate for random variations in the fertility of married couples and to maintain the economic balance in some households. But this was a marginal phenomenon in Pratolino; families belonging to the same socio-economic category do not seem to have exchanged children systematically to turn them into servants in an alien family. This pattern once existed, for the English "middle-classes" in the pre-industrial period.¹

¹ See Macfarlane (A), The family life of Ralph Josselin, a 17th century clergyman, an essay in historical anthropology, pp. 205-210.

One must not exaggerate the passive character of this phenomenon of non-mobility: when some opportunity for mobility arose, women moved, not men. The model I have sketched applies to men only, not to women. Women were the major exception to the dominant pattern of group mobility.

Types of individual mobility in Pratolino: women, old people, bastards

In Pratolino, women moved much more frequently than men. In ten years, the total number of movements for 100 individuals would be 55 for men, and 71 for women. The geographical mobility of women was above that of men for most ages, but the difference was particularly striking before the age of thirty. In Pratolino, the relative position of the two sexes, as far as mobility was concerned, was the opposite of what it was in Longuenesse where women were less mobile than men.

The mobility curves representing Pratolino women clearly reveal an age-specific pattern, and therefore the existence of a life-cycle which at some stage severed the link between family and individual. The mobility of women, in Pratolino, was also greater at all ages than that of women in Longuenesse. The importance of female migration in Pratolino was due to the combination of the two types of geographical mobility we have distinguished: individual and group-mobility.

Diagram 3 Age-specific mobility in Longueuesse :
Men and Women

Men -----
Women —————

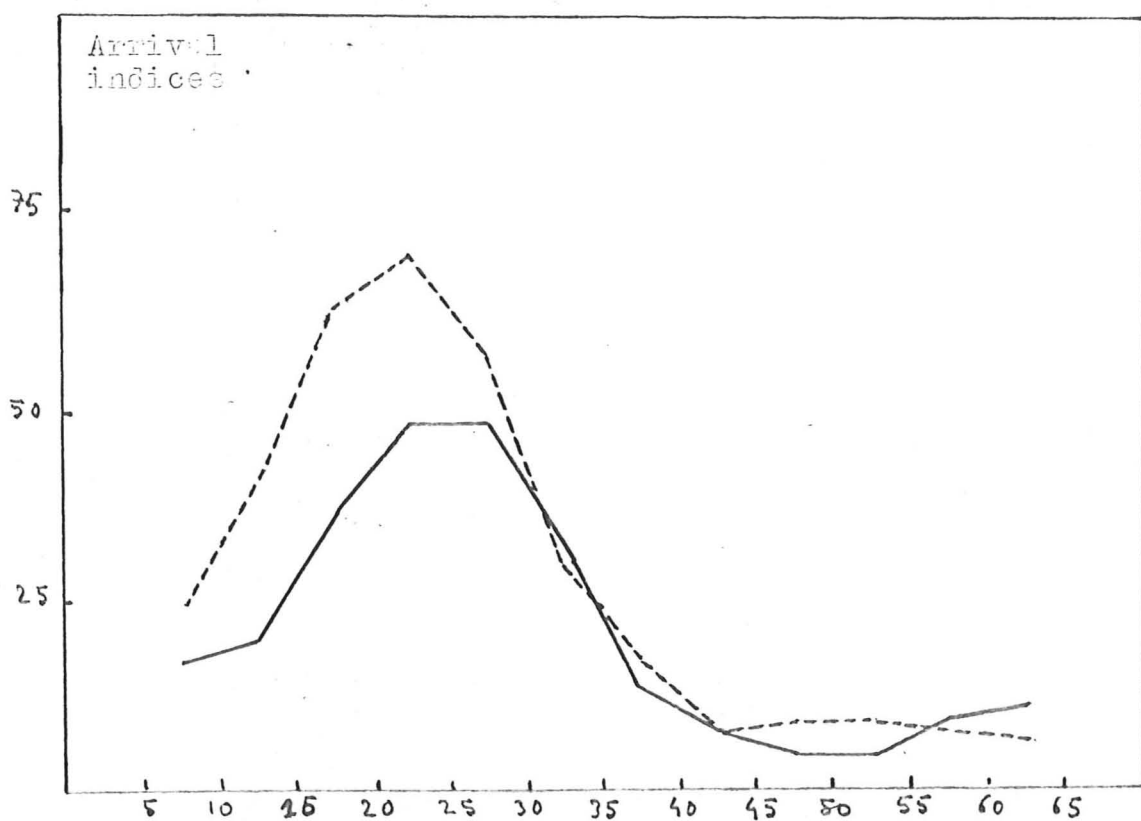
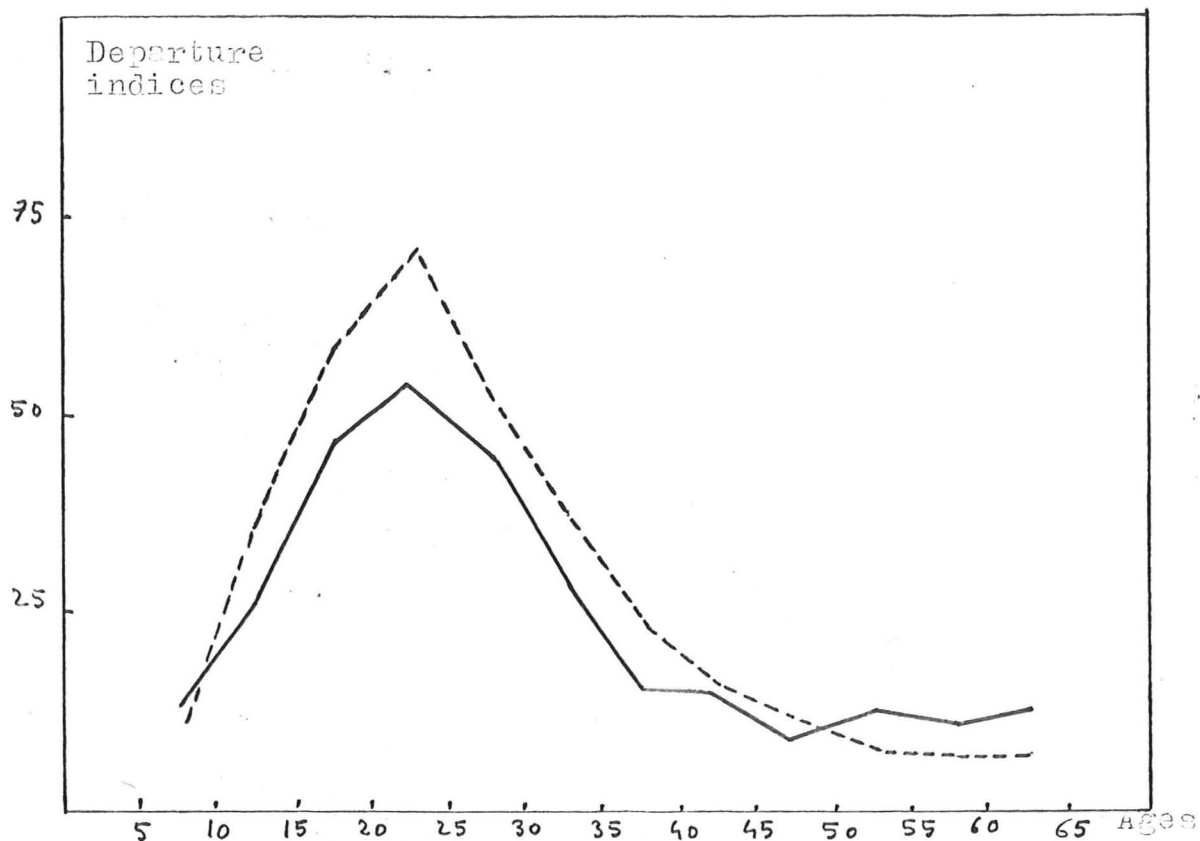


Diagram 3 Age-specific mobility in Longueville :
Men and Women

Men -----
Women —————

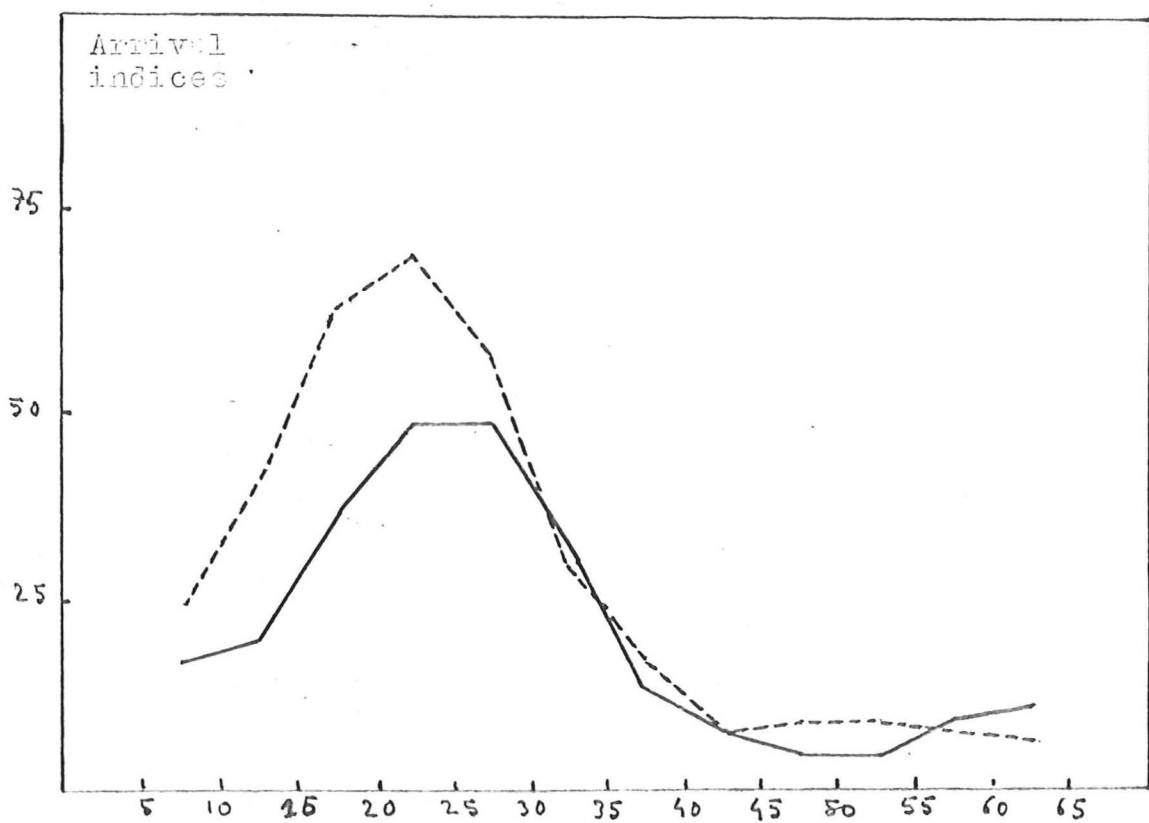
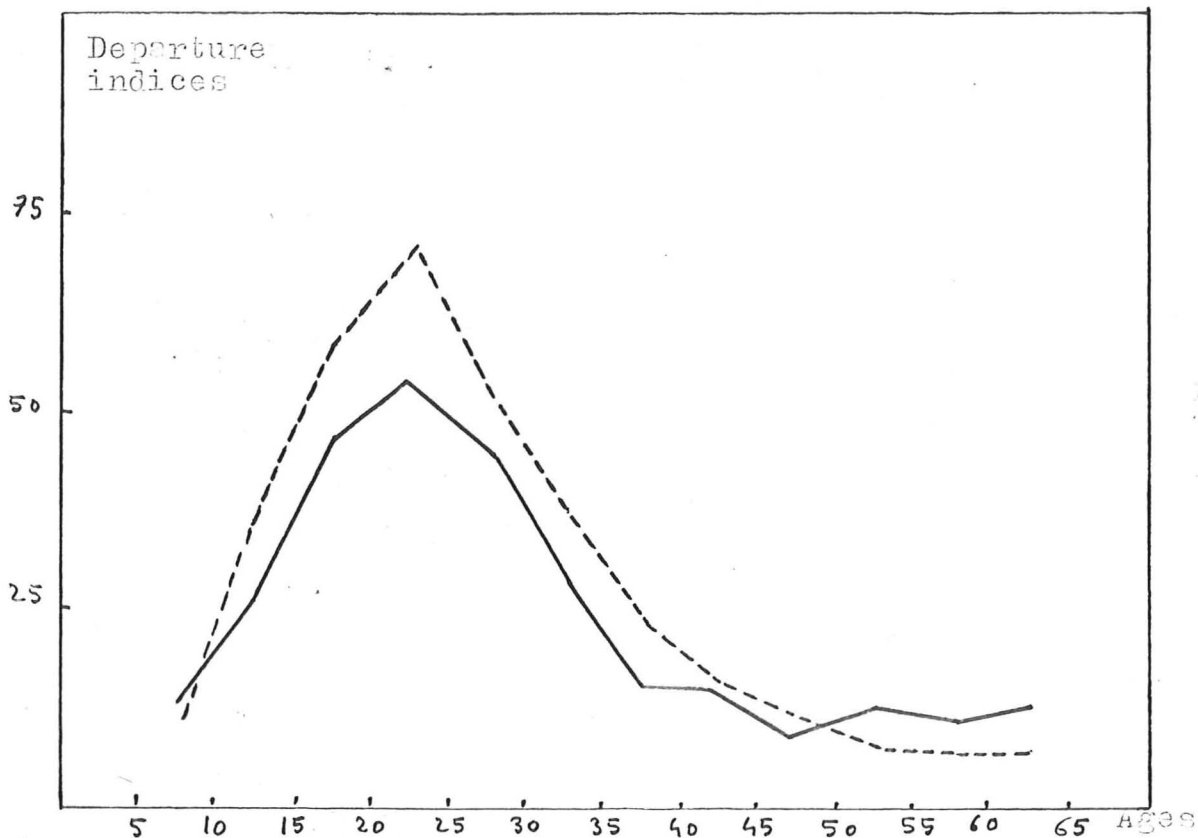
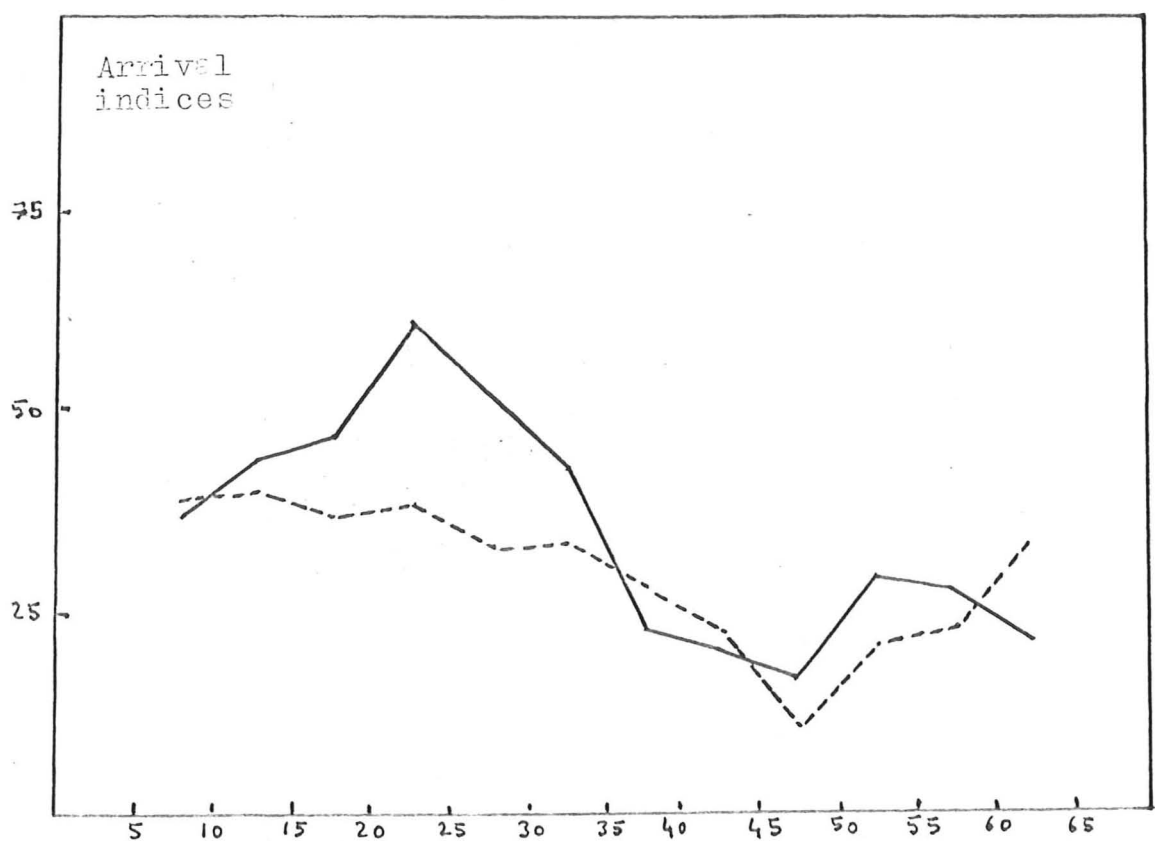


Diagram 4 Age-specific mobility in Pretoria:
Men and women

Men -----
Women —————



There were, before the time of marriage, a few opportunities of employment out of the family of birth in a local society such as Pratolino, in spite of the low level of differentiation. Society as a whole was differentiated, but the members of dominant social groups cannot really be said to have belonged to the local society because most of them were absentee-landlords. In Pratolino, most of the inhabitants had more or less equivalent economic statuses whereas the difference in wealth between the two categories of peasants of Longuenesse, farmers and labourers, was a fundamental one.

In Pratolino, the two major possibilities of employment were the service of two resident land-owners, of two stewards¹ and of the vicar, as well as the service of the few peasant families whose podere was too big: a majority of women occupied these positions.

Women were not the only group affected by some kind of individual mobility, but by far the most important.

The graphs reveal a fairly high level of migration for children; to the movements of children connected with arrivals and departures of households one must add those of a considerable number of abandoned bastards, distributed among the peasant families by an ecclesiastical institution, the Hospice of the Innocents.² But these movements of illegitimate children were in fact closely connected with

¹ Fattore

² The surnames of these children were replaced by the expression degli Innocenti.

those of women: a majority of these children were girls. Here again, we find sharply differentiated attitudes towards males and females. Girls were more willingly abandoned than boys.

The last type of individual mobility is that of old people: the curves, for Pratolino, show a clear rise in the level of migration for people over fifty.

The individual mobility of women should not be considered as an emancipation from the family. When an adolescent left his family, as in Longuenesse, to join the household of a big farmer, he exchanged family obligations for purely economic constraints: the rate of replacement of servants in big farms was high enough to rule out any kind of supposition as to the possibility of a patriarchal and family relationship between employer and employee. The study of mobility gives us an idea of what the length of the relationship was as we cannot know what its precise nature was. The length of the relationship is already an important part of its nature. The case of a girl employed as a servant by one of the privileged households of Pratolino may have been similar to that of servants in Longuenesse, but that of a young woman or adolescent girl living in a peasant family other than her own must have been different. There, the position of servant may have been fairly close to that of kin. Servants were not numerous enough and statistical estimates of their rate of turnover would not be significant, but it seems that such a rate would be lower for Pratolino than for

Longuenesse.

When a woman passed directly from her family of birth to her husband's household, her total lack of independence at any stage of her life was obvious: she had to adjust to a large family group already in existence which included her husband, a father and a mother-in-law or more often a brother-in-law and his wife.

In Longuenesse, on the contrary, marriage implied the formation of a new cell. In Pratolino, the isolated conjugal family was a minority type for all the stages of life. The ever present large family implied that the individual was never fully independent of his kin.

One can also note that in Pratolino individually mobile people did not belong to traditionally favoured and dominant categories: they were women, old people or bastards.

Neither in Longuenesse nor in Pratolino did the conscious will of the peasants appear as an important mobility factor. Young people had to emigrate from Longuenesse in order to find a job, they had no reason to move from Pratolino. But the mobility pattern of Pratolino reveals one voluntary aspect: the obvious difference between the situations of men and women. Male and female roles were highly differentiated in Tuscany.

The different mobility patterns for men and women must be connected with the structure of the household described in the previous chapter. The kin-connections within households passed through males. The mobility of women was therefore a natural consequence. It was the wife who

had to move to live with her husband and not the reverse. The following study of the means by which both Longuenesse and Pratolino ensured a high level of exogamy explains some of the relations between mobility before marriage and the choice of a marriage partner.

Exogamy

Exogamy was partly imposed by the Roman Catholic Church, as a consequence of the interdiction of consanguineous marriages up to the fourth degree: in a small village, a person in search of a marriage partner often had to go out of the parish to find an unrelated spouse. Longuenesse and Pratolino were small communities and were therefore obliged to maintain a fairly high level of exogamy. In Longuenesse, 50% of the spouses present in 1780 were born in other parishes. Precise figures cannot be obtained for Pratolino, but they would no doubt be as high.¹

A detailed study of matrimonial choice in Longuenesse makes it quite clear that service was an essential element in the mechanism ensuring a high rate of exogamy: the households of big farmers performed to some degree the functions of matrimonial agencies. Partners had to meet somewhere, know each other, and yet they often had different places of birth. Migratory movements in the ten or fifteen

¹ The nominative listings of Pratolino do not indicate the place of birth of "immigrating" spouses. The parish register indicates the place of residence at the time of marriage not the place of birth. This is fairly normal in a situation where people moved often enough to feel unattached to any particular parish.

years between puberty and marriage opened up a number of opportunities for meeting possible husbands or wives. Indices of mobility show that an average person lived for a year or two in two or three different villages before marrying. These stays in "foreign" places made the search for a marriage partner possible.

The minute sample of marriages celebrated in Longuenesse between 1780 and 1790 can be used to establish how a girl usually found a husband, or more often a young man a wife since men moved more frequently than women. In sixteen marriages, at least one spouse did not belong to the parish of Longuenesse: in four cases the outside partner came from an immediately neighbouring village, but in the twelve remaining cases he (or she) came from a more distant village and had spent some time in Longuenesse as a servant in one of the big farmers' households - a year at least.

Socio-occupational endogamy among labourers seems to have been absolute but within the category choice was apparently random. This "open" marriage system was presumably a consequence of the severing of the links between men and the land. Big farms offered jobs to young labourers out of their village of birth and no substantial inheritance provided a tie with their birth-place where their parents probably still lived. This can be proved from the household forms describing the stories of the families, the evolution of their structure over the thirteen years covered by the listings of Longuenesse. Marriage almost never followed the death of the parents: it was not

connected with inheritance.¹ Inheritance cannot be a major factor in family organization and marriage where peasants do not own anything of value, and have therefore very little to transmit to their children. This is equally valid for Longuenesse and Pratolino: in both socio-economic systems inheritance rules and customs can safely be left out of account as an explanatory factor in the study of kinship systems. *But they were extreme cases -*

One can imagine - reciprocally - the kind of problems that the requirements of exogamy would meet in a village composed of a majority of middle peasant owners. Neighbouring villages would have a similar social structure and would offer no jobs. Property, or at least a secure hereditary tenure would require some kind of stem-family system in which marriage would be connected with the age of the young peasant's parents and with the inheritance system.

The unconscious system practised by the peasants of Longuenesse appears as rather sophisticated when compared with the French village of Nouville in the mid-20th century where peasants owned their land. In Nouville, un village français,² L. Bernot and R. Blancard show that exogamy is a function of local feasts which they call "marchés d'amour". Bernot and Blancard have noted a degree of simplicity, not

¹ The number of cases is too small for a calculation of significant percentages.

² Bernot (L) and Blancard (R), Nouville, un village français, Institut d'ethnologie.

to say roughness, in pre-matrimonial relations. In Longuenesse, young people could get to know each other, they lived in the same village, perhaps in the same farm house for several years. Meetings at a dance are much more abrupt affairs. The duration of acquaintance before marriage in Longuenesse, calculated from a minute sample of eight cases, was of about three years.¹

Another example of a community largely composed of peasant owners is provided by a study of a New England village. The population of Dedham, Massachusetts, was remarkably stable, before and after marriage between 1660 and 1733.² However, this last study uses tax-records as basic documentation, instead of nominative listings, and precise numerical comparisons would be difficult.

The concentration of land in the hands of a few farmers and the corresponding institution of service would make marriage out of the parish much easier.

It would be interesting to establish, for a number of cases, a correlation between the rate of exogamy and the proportion of consanguineous marriages, a negative correlation, obviously. The proportion of consanguineous marriages can be established by comparing the number of dispensations granted by ecclesiastical courts for marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and the

¹ This average duration does not take into account endogamous marriages.

² Lockridge (K.A.) The population of Dedham, Massachusetts 1636-1736.

number of marriages which can be worked out from the parish registers.

Unfortunately, the records concerning such consanguineous marriages for Longuenesse and a large part of the Département du Pas-de-Calais¹ including Hallines were destroyed by fire during the First World War. But one could expect a fairly low rate of consanguineous marriages in a place such as Longuenesse, because of the very high rate of exogamy.

On the other hand, in a community of land-owning peasants, with little mobility and a low rate of exogamy: one could expect a fairly high rate of consanguinity determined by continuous endogamy.

A high proportion of endogamous marriages was typical of Vendée vine-growers in the 18th century:² this alone does not imply a transgression of the rule of non-consanguinity, but a large number of dispensations allowing marriages between people related in the third and fourth degrees are likely to be found. One can also take the example of the Vexin near Paris, the basic socio-economic structure of which was very close to that of Artois in the 18th century: wealthy farmers and labourers, but with a still important number of vine-growers in the valleys. In

¹ These records exist for the Bishopric of Boulogne, not for that of Saint-Omer.

² Tilly (C), La Vendée, p. 109.

this region, a student¹ found a marked difference between the rate of consanguineous and licensed marriages of labourers, for whom the rate was low, and that of vine-growers for whom the rate was high. Labourers owned almost nothing, vine-growers owned their plot of land and their skills. One can safely consider the labourers of the Vexin and those of Longuenesse as two closely related social types.

In Pratolino, the problem of exogamy simply did not arise. Young people moved with their family and lived in various places before reaching the standard age at marriage. It is true that the overall level of mobility thus attained by young people was not as high as in Longuenesse, but individual mobility of women employed as servants made up for the difference. It would be interesting to calculate a rate of consanguineous marriages for Pratolino or its region. I have not done it so far, but the documents exist, going back to the end of the 16th century.²

¹ Gapillou (S), Mariages et remariages avec dispense d'empêchement canonique dans le Vexin français (1680-1720), 1970. Microfilm at the Versailles record office. Archives départementales des Yvelines, 1 Mi 132.

Licenses by occupation

Vine-growers (and wine merchants)	60%
Labourers	8%
Craftsmen	8%
Farmers	5.5% -6
Merchants	7%
"Officiers" (administration)	8%

The very high percentage for vine-growers is striking. So is the very low percentage obtained for labourers, a numerically important group.

² L'archivio vescovile di Fiesole (G. Raspini) p. 101.

During the period of the Ancien Régime, the Catholic Church forbade the marriages of individuals related in the fourth degree of consanguinity.¹ All the individuals indicated on the arbor consanguinitatis, page 137, were therefore situated within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Dispensations could fairly easily be obtained for the fourth and third degrees, less easily for the second degree (first cousins, for instance). No dispensations were granted for the first degree (parent and child, brother and sister).

Protestant regulations were far less prohibitive because the Bible does not even forbid first cousin marriage. Sweden, however, was an exception among Lutheran countries: the Swedish Church continued to prohibit first cousin marriage. The King therefore had to grant a number of dispensations. First cousin marriage in Sweden has been studied in great detail by geneticists for the period 1750-1844.² French and Italian geneticists have also done a great deal of work on nineteenth and twentieth

¹ This applies to the period between 1215 and 1917. On the historical variations of Catholic regulations and on the method for counting degrees of consanguinity see article Parenté, in Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique pp. 1995-2003 - Vacant A., Mangenot E. and Amman E., Paris 1932.

Canon Law and Civil Law have different ways of estimating consanguinity. Thus, first cousins will be related in the second degree according to Canon Law and in the fourth degree according to Civil Law.

² Alström, C.H. First cousin marriage in Sweden 1750-1844.

century religious and civil dispensations.¹ But a great deal of work can still be done on seventeenth and eighteenth century records.²

Consanguineous marriages are indeed extreme cases of relations between kinsmen as they imply the combination of an affinal relation (by marriage) and a cognatic relation (by blood). The significance of consanguineous marriages is nevertheless difficult to establish.

Two kinds of factors can lead to a high proportion of consanguineous marriages in a community. The first one, analysed in the preceding pages, is a low level of geographical mobility. People cannot find an unrelated marriage partner. The second possible factor has a more voluntary aspect: individuals prefer to marry distant or not so distant relatives for affective or economic reasons. Of course, both types of factor can be combined: land-owners

¹ For instance:

Sutter J. Fréquence de l'endogamie et ses facteurs au XIX^{ème} siècle

Sutter J. and Tabah L. Fréquence et répartition des mariages consanguins en France

Serra A. and Soini A. La consanguinité d'une population

Moroni A. Struttura ed evoluzione della consanguineità umana nelle isole Eolie (1680-1966).

² Historical works on seventeenth and eighteenth century dispensations:

- Gouesse J.M. Parenté, famille et mariage en Normandie aux XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles

- Fresel-Lozey M. Histoire démographique d'un village du Béarn: Bilhères d'Ossau XVIII^{ème}-XIX^{ème} siècles pp. 76-77.

- Gapillou S. Mariages et remariages ... already quoted.

do not want to move and they have to marry a relative; they can also marry a relative to prevent the fragmentation of family property.

But we can imagine a situation in which the frequency of consanguineous marriages would be high and in which geographical mobility would also be at a high level. In this case related individuals could marry each other for reasons not connected with property in land.

Low rates of mobility imply high rates of consanguinity. But high rates of mobility do not always imply low rates of consanguinity. An example can be given. Mobility was very important in early nineteenth century Scania.¹ However, rates of consanguinity were by no means negligible.²

High rates of consanguinity can therefore have two main causes:

- 1) They can be the automatic outcome of low rates of mobility.
- 2) They can also be the consequence of a special attitude towards kinship.³

¹ Mobility in Scania: see below page 168

² Proportions of first cousin marriages:

Scania (Lund district 1830-1834: 1.4% (Alström)
Finistère 1926-1945 : 0.91 (Sutter and Tabah)
Loir-et-Cher (Western France) 1824-1828: 1.2% (Sutter and Tabah)
Rural parts of the Milan region 1903-1923: 4.7% (Serra and Soini)

³ The first relationship is necessary. If we consider that people have to marry, endogamy, in a small community, implies the existence of consanguineous marriages. This relationship is logically necessary. The second relationship is an example of a statistical dependence between two logically independent variables. On these types of relationship, see introduction pages 16-17

Variations of consanguinity rates in time would therefore be an important source of information on attitudes towards kinship. But they should be treated with great precaution because high rates of consanguinity do not always imply the existence of special attitudes towards kinship.

Women were more mobile than men in Pratolino and joined their husband's households when they married:¹ we find the opposite situation in Longuenesse where men were more mobile and settled in their wife's village. If one uses the standard anthropological terminology, residence after marriage was in Pratolino patrilocal (in relation to the household) and in Longuenesse matrilocal (in relation to the village). If one considers households in Longuenesse, residence after marriage was absolutely neolocal because marriage implied the formation of a new household, a simple family household.

In Longuenesse, matrilocal marriages made up 71% of the marriages in which one of the partners came from another parish. In an appreciable number of cases both

¹ In Pratolino, the household was the obvious unit to which the newly married couple was aggregated. In Longuenesse, a newly married couple was a new independent unit that could only be situated in relation to the village.

partners came from another parish: this implies a neolocal residence pattern from the point of view of the household and the village.

It has already been said that the patrilocality of marriage was in Pratolino almost absolute when the newly married couple was immediately assimilated by a large pre-existing family group. These cases were an overwhelming majority. When a new and independent unit was really formed, marriage had a tendency to be neolocal from the point of view of the village: the place of residence was not the parish of birth of either of the two spouses. It was in this case neolocal from the point of view of the household.

Again, nothing in the agrarian system of Pratolino imposed this clear sex-differentiation. The behaviour of the mezzadri reflected a clear norm: a woman should come to live with her husband's family.

The causes of the matrilocal system typical of Longuenesse were less direct, more diffuse, probably unconscious. Boys left the village earlier and more frequently than girls: but this does not prove that males were emancipated earlier and more fully than females. Here again the economic system acted as a constraint on behaviour. There were more numerous opportunities of employment as servant in the big farms for men than for women: the valets de charrue were more numerous than the filles de basse-cour.

In 1778 in Longuenesse, males made up 66% of the total

number of servants. The constraints concerning sex-differentiation seem to have come from the demands of the big farm rather than from the preferences of the peasant community. Once we have taken into account the unequal opportunities of employment, the propensity to migrate appears to be higher for women than for men.

If one wanted to summarize the relations between the residence after marriage, patrilocal or matrilocal, and the pattern of geographical mobility one would obtain the following sequences, in which causation runs in opposite directions.

Longuenesse : the type of mobility, determined by the economy, acted upon residence after marriage.

Pratolino : a conscious norm concerning residence after marriage acted upon individual mobility.

It is interesting to note that matrilocal residence after marriage is a feature common to rural labourers and to many working-class communities. A similar marriage pattern has been found and analysed by Peter Willmott and Michael Young in Bethnal Green, East London. And it is true that the situations of rural and industrial labourers present striking similarities: lack of property and the search of a job encourage geographical mobility, particularly for men. Women become the stable element.¹

¹ Willmott (P) and Young (M), Family and kinship in East London. p 37

Household mobility and agrarian system: the stability of peasant communities

Let us summarize briefly the results already obtained for Longuenesse and Pratolino. In Longuenesse, individuals had to move, in one way or another, if they wanted to find a marriage partner. In Pratolino, families being very mobile, there was no necessity for individuals to migrate independently; only a proportion of the women had to move for the mechanism of exogamy to function properly. But we are left with a very important question: why did a capitalist system tolerate a high degree of stability of labourers, and why did a share-cropping system impose frequent movements on family groups?

It might first be asked whether stability is a good thing for peasant families. ~~The peasants themselves probably think so. ~~and the opinion of the peasants themselves~~~~ ~~there would probably be 'no'.~~ The rush for land-when some can be bought-and the development of a stem-family ideology-when the peasants own their farms-are not myths, at least in all the economic systems where agriculture is mainly one of self-subsistence.

Agriculture in Longuenesse and Pratolino was by no means oriented towards sheer self-sufficiency. The big 'capitalist' farms produced for the market; and the mezzadria, although the peasant family directly subsisted on it, ensured a fixed rent of half the land produce. Longuenesse produced for Saint-Omer, as Pratolino for Florence. But the labourers of Longuenesse could not have been tied materially or

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emotionally to their small house and garden, nor could the mezzadri have been linked to a podere which they did not own. But the attitude of these two groups towards stability and mobility could not be one of indifference. Stability renders the establishment of strong relations within the community possible: permanence makes mutual help possible and easy and therefore strengthens the community in its relations with the dominant social groups.

The stability of labourers' families, as opposed to the mobility of share-croppers' families, is paradoxical. One would naturally associate the idea of mobility with the modern, capitalist system and that of stability with the more backward mezzadria.

The owner of a podere probably could not afford to let a peasant family settle forever on a particular farm. In the mezzadria system, the peasant family had direct control of the management of the farm: a very high degree of stability of most of the families in a given community would probably end as a threat to the very nature of property in land. A parish occupied by families closely linked by kinship or friendship relations strengthened through years of neighbourliness would be difficult to handle for absentee landlords. The potential strength of the peasant families, the direct control of the farm, obliged the owners to maintain a high rate of replacement on their land, thus preventing the formation of a solid and permanent community. The land-owner had an absolute control over the situation of the mezzadro, whereas the

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big farmer had no way of influencing the mobility of the labourers which composed the village community in longuenesse.

A built-in device made it easy for the landlord to get rid of a tenant if he wished to do so. The general and immediate reason for the dismissal of a share-cropper was usually indebtedness to his landlord and his inability to pay back what he owed. The Tuscan mezzadri in the 18th century were, structurally, on the verge of bankruptcy and on the margin of sheer subsistence.¹

This does not exaggerate the functional aspect of debt in this social system. Debt cannot be considered as a random and independent element: the mezzadria was in the 18th century a stable and long-established institution, predominant since the 16th century in the Tuscan agrarian landscape.

In Longuenesse, labourers had no control at all over the management of big farms, but reciprocally, no direct control of the mobility of labourers was possible for the farmer. The journaliers owned their houses:² these houses had no real economic value but at least made the eviction of their owners from the community theoretically impossible. A high turnover of journaliers was neither possible nor necessary from the point of view of the big farmer.

On the other hand, one can note that in Longuenesse,

¹ Giorgetti (G), Agricoltura e sviluppo capitalistico nella Toscana del '700 p. 750. Caroselli (M.R.) Critica alla mezzadria.

² 80% of the journaliers owned their houses in Longuenesse.

where members of the "dominated" social category had a direct and permanent contact with the farm as was the case with servants, and where the farmer had an absolute control over employment, the rate of turnover was high, as remarked above. This does not apply to the relations between the Longuenesse big farmer and his landlord, whether the owner of the farm was an ecclesiastical institution or a lay nobleman. The farmers were stable during the thirteen years covered by the listings. This applies also to the seventeen years covered by the Hallines listings. A big farmer cannot really be said to be "dominated" by his landlord; they deal on an equal footing. The relationship between owner and big tenant in 18th century Artois was certainly very close to that described by Mingay for English farms in the same period.¹ Again mobility provides a good quick estimate of the nature of the relationship between the two categories of people.

As T.L. Smith and P.E. Zopf put it: 'In general ... the nature of the rights that agriculturalists have to the land is highly significant in producing particular rates of movement from one farm to another'². This hypothesis can also be fruitfully applied to the cases of Brittany and Scania. But before we come to the analysis of geographical mobility in Briec, Arrie and Hörröd, another

¹ Mingay (G.E.) The size of farms in the 18th century.

² Smith T.L. and Zopf P.E. Principles of inductive rural sociology p. 93. See also pp. 92-96 paragraph on 'Farm to farm migration'.

factor acting on movements from one farm to another must be presented: population pressure.

The study of geographical mobility clearly differentiates capitalist farming from share-cropping. In Pratolino, the family was in a position to exert a strong control over the individual, and the landlord to exert a strict control over the stability of the family, although probably not over its composition. Longuenesse presents the opposite case of a weak control of the individual by the family and of the families of labourers by the farmers.

Geographical mobility and population pressure

Before the Pratolino landlord or the Longuenesse farmer could proceed in accordance with the model just described, one important condition had to be fulfilled: a minimal population density, relative to the capacity of employment of the economic system had to be reached and maintained.

The employer of the labour force (whether a landlord as in Pratolino or a big farmer as in Longuenesse) was interested in the long term social balance of the peasant community: mobility contributes to weaken the peasant community or the group of servants in the farm. But before taking into account these long term possibilities, the employer had to maintain the immediate economic balance of his farm.

It is easy to ensure a high turnover when labour is abundant, when population density is high as compared to the opportunities of employment offered by the economic system, but this is impossible when population density is low. In this latter case, the employer's main worry is to find a sufficient number of tenants, and to keep them as long as possible, in other words, to maintain geographical mobility at a very low level.

Population density in Artois between 1780 and 1790, and in Tuscany between 1721 and 1731 was obviously at a satisfactory level, from the employer's point of view. The excess of population in Northern France at the end of the 18th century is a well-known fact, as is the relatively numerous population of Tuscany in the 18th century.¹

But it is worth remembering that the results obtained for Longuenesse and Pratolino, and their interpretation, can be applied to similarly ideal agrarian types, capitalist farming and share-cropping, in one particular type of demographic situation only. Geographical mobility in the first days of the mezzadria was probably at a much lower level than in the 18th century. As a matter of fact, the mezzadria was created as a response to the phase of depopulation in the 14th and 15th centuries. The meaning of the institution, in terms of social balance, must have changed a great deal between the 15th and the 18th century,

¹ Lefebvre (G), Les paysans du Nord. Parenti (G), La popolazione della Toscana sotto la Regenza Lorenese. See also: Del Panta (L), Una traccia di storia demografica della Toscana nei secoli XVI- XVIII, pp. 33 and 55.

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although the rules of the game had remained the same.

In the 20th century, mezzadri and their families seem not to be mobile anymore. The contract between landlord and share-cropper is more stable. This new situation fits in rather well with the model presented above: population pressure has gone down as a consequence of industrialization and rural depopulation.¹

Population pressure has always been a fundamental element in the social balance of traditional societies. This was clearly emphasized by the Malthusian model - and by most of the analyses produced by the other classical economists in England - Ricardo for instance. High population pressure turns out to be a major disadvantage for those who do not own the land. In such a situation, rents tend to go up and wages to go down. We now realize that in many cases high population pressure seems to have created some instability in the landless social categories.

In Sweden, for instance, it is often argued that the great power and freedom of the Swedish peasantry were mainly due to the low population pressure, to the existence of wide open spaces in the country. This applies to the phase before the middle of the 18th century.

However, one must be prudent. Population pressure was not the only factor: in Eastern Europe, for instance, the fall in population density which began in the 14th

¹ Schnapper (D), Sociologie de l'Italie, p. 13.

century was followed by a strengthening of the feudal organization. Serfdom and not freedom resulted from the lower population density.

Geographical mobility and the life-cycle in Briec

The nominative listings of Briec have a different periodicity which makes comparisons with other places more difficult though possible. The two listings of inhabitants for Briec are four years apart: 1769 and 1773. It is therefore impossible to calculate for this parish indices representing geographical mobility between situations one year apart as has been done for Pratolino and Longuenesse. For Briec, one can only measure the proportions of departures and arrivals in four years. A lengthening of the interval between two censuses increases the degree of imprecision of the measurements or, rather, the "value" and proportion of movements of a long duration became more important.¹ A movement is defined here as:

- an arrival followed by a departure
- or
- a departure followed by an arrival (the individual comes back)

Only a proportion of the rapid movements, of a duration shorter than four years, are recorded in the case of Briec, but this proportion which we cannot estimate is mixed with the slower movements. A period of four years is not a

¹ See above p. III note 1

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natural unit of time as a period of one year is. All this implies that a measurement of geographical mobility using four years period is not as perfect or as easy to interpret as a measurement using one year periods.

I believe I have taken the only absolutely safe course in dealing with the problem: I have kept the "perfect" results obtained for Longuenesse and Pratolino, and these have been presented in the preceding pages. But to this perfect calculation I have added a simulation of imperfect calculation giving for Longuenesse and Pratolino indices comparable to those directly obtained from the Briec listings.

I have combined two four-years periods for Longuenesse (1780-1784, 1785-1789) and for Pratolino (1721-1725, 1726-1730). Again, the cumulation of the two periods makes the results more significant by reducing possible random variation. It is obviously impossible to combine two four-year periods for Briec.

Results on geographical mobility are presented for a very small part of the parish of Briec. This part is a chapelry called Trebozen, which presents two main advantages: of all the sub-parishes of Briec it was the closest to the general average as far as household structure was concerned, and its population was exactly equal to that of Pratolino and Longuenesse.

This identity of size is important: when a parish is bigger, the number of internal movements increases - but this is simply the mechanical effect of a different

definition of the geographical unit used as a basis for the study.

Longuenesse and Pratolino: one-year and four-years periods

One can see by comparing diagrams 1 and 2 on pages 115 and 116 and figures 5 and 6 on pages 155 and 156 that using four-year periods does not imply a change of interpretation: the results obtained for Longuenesse and Pratolino are not distorted. The scale of diagram 5 is doubled (as compared to figures 1 and 2). Since diagram 5 A and 5 B on the one hand, 1 B and 2 B on the other, look very much alike, as far as the curves concerning Pratolino and Longuenesse are concerned, we can safely conclude that although the use of four-year periods greatly reduces the overall intensity of geographical mobility, the age patterns are not significantly altered. It is therefore unnecessary to revise the conclusions reached in the previous paragraphs before presenting the case of Briec.

Briec: the highest level of geographical mobility

The first obvious and paradoxical result of the comparison between Briec on the one hand, Pratolino and Longuenesse on the other, is that geographical mobility in our example of feudal organization was more pronounced than in the capitalist farming and share-cropping systems, for nearly all ages.

If one considers that the overall rate of mobility

Table 19 - A

Mobility in Longuenesse, Pratolino and Trebozen (Briec)

Four-year intervals / Arrivals

	<u>Longuenesse</u>		<u>Pratolino</u>		<u>Briec (one chapelry)</u>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
0 - 4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 - 9	9	3	20	16	24	20
10 - 14	10	3	22	24	38	28
15 - 19	22	9	22	28	40	45
20 - 24	29	17	21	32	43	47
25 - 29	37	21	18	27	34	42
30 - 34	25	17	19	22	28	26
35 - 39	14	10	19	14	22	16
40 - 44	4	7	16	9	10	19
45 - 49	1	4	14	9	14	22
50 - 54	3	3	17	28	28	20
55 - 59	3	8	18	23	16	10
60 - 64	3	10	28	16	15	15
65 & +	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 19 - B

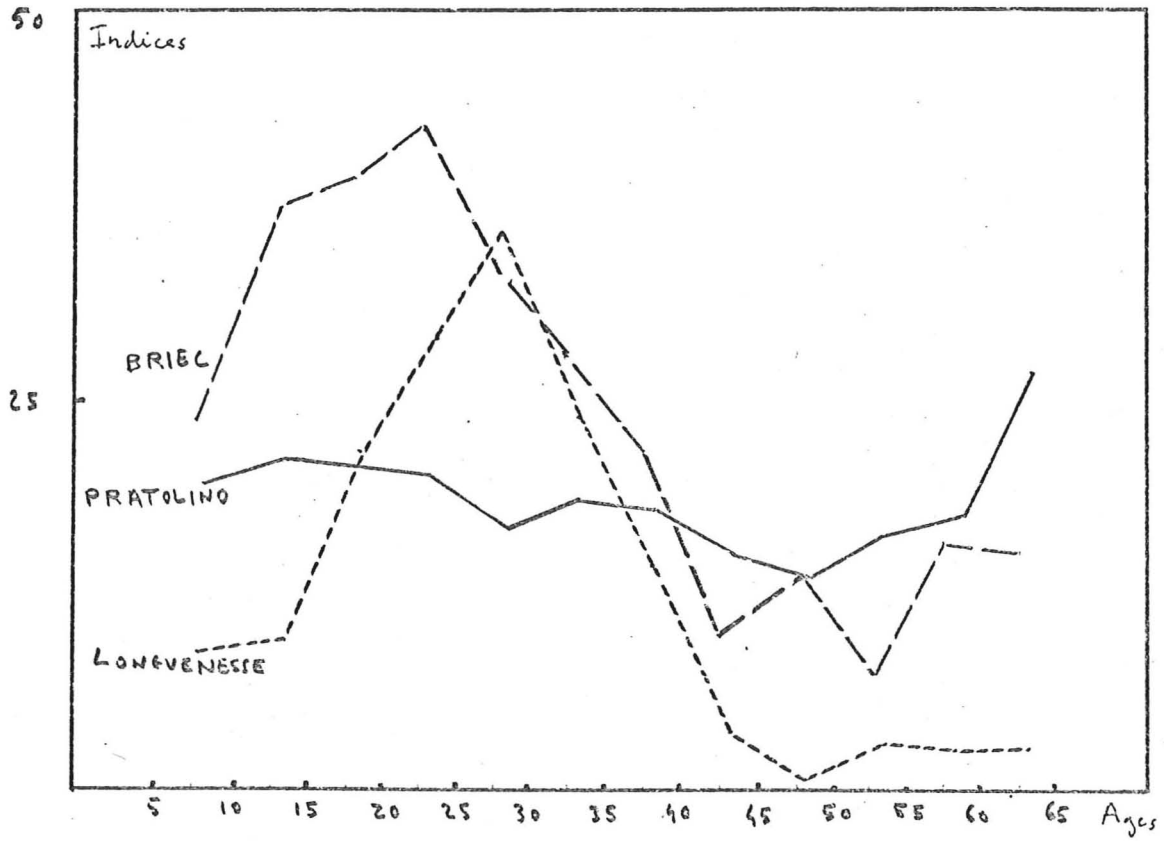
	<u>Departures</u>					
	<u>Longuenesse</u>		<u>Pratolino</u>		<u>Briec (one chapelry)</u>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
0 - 4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 - 9	2	2	23	29	27	25
10 - 14	10	10	28	33	38	26
15 - 19	21	22	29	36	42	31
20 - 24	34	24	27	39	40	36
25 - 29	35	21	25	35	35	33
30 - 34	26	14	23	29	28	26
35 - 39	12	13	22	22	28	25
40 - 44	7	14	16	22	21	20
45 - 49	3	7	15	18	23	23
50 - 54	3	10	14	15	19	25
55 - 59	2	5	17	16	14	38
60 - 64	2	6	17	24	12	58
65 & +	-	-	-	-	-	-

Diagram 5

- Age specific mobility in Briec , Longuenesse and Pratolino
- Arrivals

5A

Men



5-B

Women

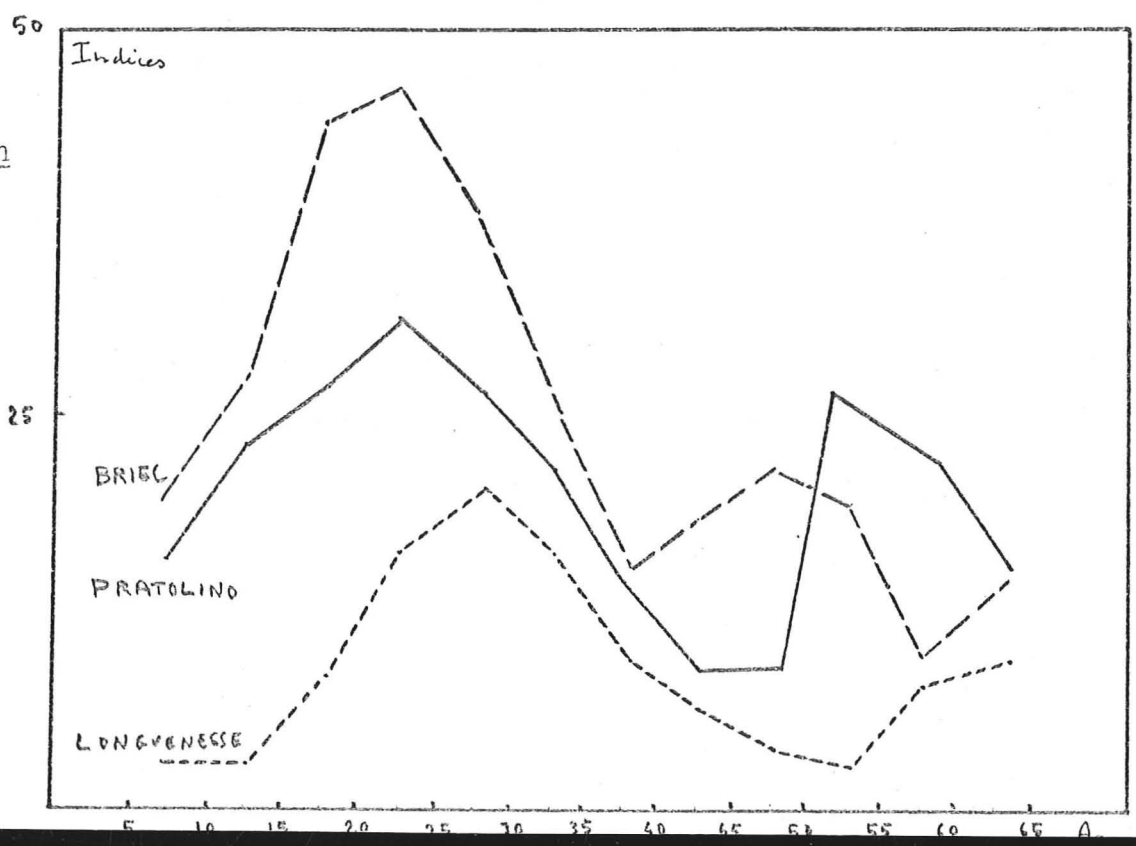
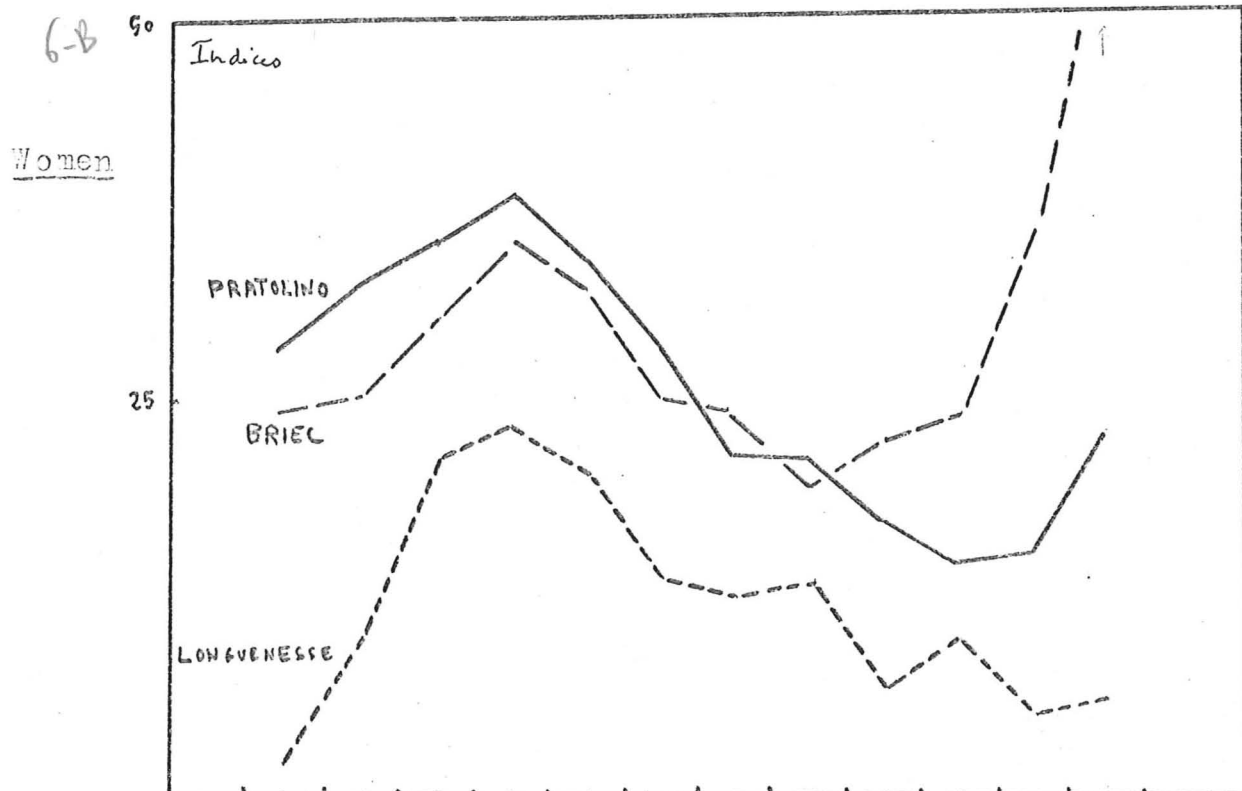
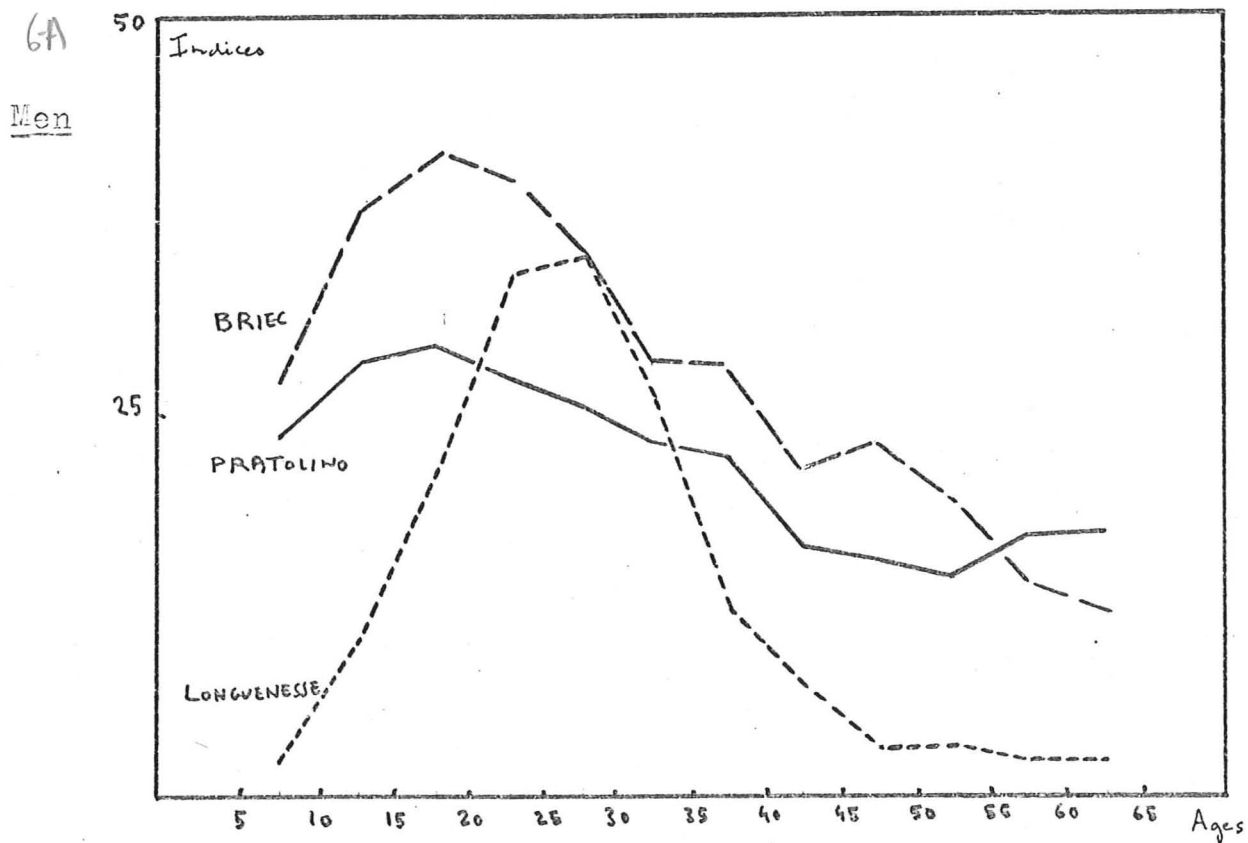


Diagram 6

- Age specific mobility in Briec , Longuenesse and Pratolino
- Departures



(total number of movements divided by the total population in the period) was higher for Pratolino than for Longuenesse we come to the paradoxical conclusion that the intensity of geographical mobility varied inversely to the degree of modernity of the agrarian system. The more modern the agrarian system, the less mobile the population.

<u>Increasing degree of</u> <u>modernity of the</u> <u>agrarian system</u>	<u>Increasing intensity</u> <u>of geographical</u> <u>mobility</u>	<u>Overall</u> <u>mobility</u> <u>index</u>
Briec	Longuenesse	10
Pratolino	Pratolino	20
Longuenesse	Briec	26

(the overall mobility index is equal to the number of arrivals in four years divided by the total population)

We can analyse geographical mobility in Briec by using the two categories set out above: individual and group mobility. Briec combines a high level of individual mobility with a high level of group mobility.

The table below shows the relative importance of the two types of mobility in the three parishes.

	<u>Individual mobility</u>	<u>Group mobility</u>
Longuenesse	<u>High</u>	Low
Pratolino	Low	<u>High</u>
Briec	<u>High</u>	<u>High</u>

The part played by group mobility can be shown by a study of the specific mobility of married couples, as has been done for Pratolino. The following table is similar to table 18, but uses four-year periods instead of ten-year periods: again the results are not fundamentally distorted.

Table 20

Mobility of married couples: Longuenesse, Pratolino, Briec
Four-year periods

	<u>Briec</u>	<u>Longuenesse</u>	<u>Pratolino</u>
Arrivals	15%	2%	20%
Departures	17%	4%	20%
Deaths	31%	2%	18%
Marriages	5%	10%	11%

This table presents a more detailed description rather than an explanation. What were the factors responsible for such a high level of individual and group mobility in Briec?

Individual mobility raises no problem: the differences and general dispersion in the size of holdings made a permanent adjustment of household size to the farm necessary. Random variations in the fertility of married couples do not correspond to differences in the size of holdings. Differential fertility gives rise to exchanging of children between families. These exchanges of "servants" between households belonging to the same socio-economic category were only one of the two possible types of service

institution. There was, in the 18th century, a beginning of social polarization in Briec: some servants there must have been very similar in their role and position to their Longuenesse counterparts. These servants were employed by the few big (but not very big) farmers who held an amount of land larger than the average. It is nevertheless impossible to isolate the two types in the listings because big and small farms cannot be distinguished. Agricultural occupations and wealth are not indicated in the listings, and it is therefore difficult to know with absolute certainty who was a big farmer and who was not.

If the listings had been annual and repetitive, it might have proved possible to distinguish two types of behaviour, two types of geographical mobility of servants. It has been pointed out that the rate of turnover of servants was very high in Longuenesse. If this feature was connected with the large farm system, then we might expect to find it in the large farms of Briec. It seems likely that servants belonging to the households of poor or middle peasants were in a very different position: quite a few of these servants were related to their employer in Briec. One might expect a lower rate of turnover in their case. Again, the rate of turnover reflects the duration of a relationship. Unfortunately, one cannot verify this last point: the time-span between the two censuses for Briec is four years and this is too long. A young servant cannot be expected, in either of the two systems, small and big farm, to stay longer than four years.

Most of the servants disappear from one listing to the next but we cannot say whether they left after one, two or three years. One and two would be the modal¹ values for Longuenesse but it is impossible to propose an estimate for Briec.

An important factor activated geographical mobility for the two possible types of service described above: a mortality crisis in the years 1771 and 1772. In 1772, the death rate was at least twice as high as its usual level.

Table 21

Death rates in Briec 1770-1773 (whole parish)

1769	49	per	thousand
1770	31	"	"
1771	42	"	"
1772	75	"	"
1773	34	"	"

These rates for the period 1769-1773 were not particular to Briec. Similar figures can be found in Jean Meyer's thesis for the whole of Brittany.² A mortality crisis, by increasing the rate of replacement of servants, activates geographical mobility. This also applies to the mobility

¹ Most frequent.

² Meyer (J), La noblesse bretonne, p. 606. 1771-1775 were crisis years for the whole of Brittany.

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of households: death breaks up families which have to be replaced on the farms. Replacement implies geographical mobility.

The same influences which explain group mobility in the mezzadria system can be seen at work in the feudal system of Briec: the relations between geographical mobility, the stability of the peasant community and the definition of property rights in land are the same in both cases.

The landlord had no interest in letting a family settle forever on a particular farm. As a matter of fact, this attitude is even more likely to be typical of a feudal landlord than of a land-owner in the mezzadria system, because one of the characteristics common to all feudal systems was the uncertain definition of property rights in land. Britanny was no exception.¹

This explanation applies to small farms only: extended family households, representing middle and big farms were stationary. All the mobile households of Trebozen were simple family households (100%) and the proportion for the neighbouring chapelry of Calaprovost was 90%. Relatively well-off farmers were not under threat of being required to move. Complex households were mobile in Pratolino (one must bear in mind that there were very few "others", non-complex households in Pratolino).

We do not know whether mobile simple family households in Briec were those of small tenant-farmers or of labourers.

¹ See paragraph on the domaine congéable. p. 42

But, as the general level of mobility was very high, both categories must have been mobile. One can even suspect that geographical mobility, in Brittany, was combined with social mobility: tenant-farmers must fairly often have turned into labourers, and less frequently labourers turned into tenant-farmers. One must remember that this local society was not stable and that the number of labourers was increasing over the years.

It is not possible to say whether rural labourers in Briec were stationary after marriage, as they were in Longuenesse, or whether their behaviour was closer to that of the mobile small tenants of Briec.¹

Relatively well-off peasants in Briec presented an immediate economic advantage for the landlord: very few farmers in Brittany had a sufficient amount of capital to hold and cultivate a large farm in an efficient way. It was reasonable for the landlord to keep these big tenants as long as possible. The position of the wealthy peasants of Briec was fairly similar to that of the big farmers of Longuenesse who were also stationary.²

The demographic situation in Briec and in Brittany as a whole was favourable to the landlord. Population pressure in 18th century Brittany was high: population was on the whole stagnant in the second half of the century³ but

¹ On the instability of small tenants in Brittany see: Meyer, La noblesse bretonne, p. 672.

² On the small size of most farms in Brittany, see Meyer La noblesse bretonne, pp. 658-659.

³ Meyer (J), La noblesse bretonne, p. 599.

the recurrent mortality crises, whether or not connected with epidemics, show that a Malthusian limit had been reached. One therefore comes to the conclusion that it was rational for the landlord to evict his poor tenants whenever it was possible.

We are left with an important problem: one usually associates feudal systems with phases of low population density.

Historians and economists agree on this point with minor differences. On the historical side, one could name Marc Bloch for the Western European feudal systems in the Middle Ages, Witold Kula for the Eastern "Second serfdom" from the 14th or 15th century onwards. On the side of economic analysis, one can name John Hicks, Ester Boserup,¹ and more generally the English classical economists.

The two following quotations from Boserup's book on The conditions of agricultural growth make this point clear.

"Where population is sparse and fertile land abundant and uncontrolled, a social hierarchy can be maintained only by direct, personal control over the members of the lower class. In such communities, therefore, both subjugated people and individual captives of war are kept in personal bondage. Bonded labour is a characteristic feature of communities with a hierarchic structure, but surrounded by so much uncontrolled land suitable for cultivation by

¹ Hicks (J) A theory of economic history. Boserup (E) The conditions of agricultural growth.

long-fallow methods that it is impossible to prevent the members of the lower class from finding alternative means of subsistence unless they are made personally unfree. When population becomes so dense that the land can be controlled, it becomes unnecessary to keep the lower class in personal bondage: it is sufficient to deprive the working classes of the right to be independent cultivators."¹

"Both the physiocrats and the classical economists in Britain based their ideas of the effect of population growth in agriculture upon the assumption that private property in land emerges when agricultural land becomes scarce under the pressure of growing numbers of people. It was assumed, in other words, that agricultural land would remain free for everybody to occupy and use as desired, as long as the population in a given territory was small, but that a class of private landowners would appear as soon as good agricultural land had become scarce. But this is an oversimplification... Land may be scarce from the point of view of a tribe and long-fallow cultivators living in a given territory, while from the point of view of European settlers established in the midst of this small tribal territory land may appear to be in abundant supply."²

The disagreement with English classical economists is not fundamental for my purpose. The basic principle is common to both argumentations, but Boserup insists on the

¹ Boserup (E), The conditions of agricultural growth, p. 73.

² Ibidem, p. 78.

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long-fallow methods that it is impossible to prevent the members of the lower class from finding alternative means of subsistence unless they are made personally unfree. When population becomes so dense that the land can be controlled, it becomes unnecessary to keep the lower class in personal bondage: it is sufficient to deprive the working classes of the right to be independent cultivators."¹

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¹ Boserup (E), The conditions of agricultural growth, p. 73.

² Ibidem, p. 78.

relativity of the concept of population pressure.

One can consider that a long term increase in population density, with a relatively stable productivity of land and labour, provides the landlord with an incentive to pass on to the modern, mercantilized form of economic organization, with a free status of labour and a clear definition of property rights in land.¹

But the phase of transition between the two opposite systems, feudal with low population pressure, capitalist with high population pressure, can last for several centuries and constitutes itself an important historical type that should not be eliminated from a typology simply because it does not fit in with an ideal model.

The best example of such a phase of transition is that of Western Europe in the 12th, 13th, and beginning of the 14th centuries, when growing population pressure favoured a change in economic organization, a commutation of labour services into money rents, a general mercantilization of agriculture and to some extent a concentration of the land in the hands of some big farmers implying a measure of social polarization in the country. But this process was never completed, at least during the Middle Ages, mainly because of the dramatic decline in population due to the Black Death in 1348.

It would be rather rash to identify Brittany in the 18th century with Western Europe at the beginning of the

¹ Hicks (J), A theory of economic history, p. 108.

14th century. Nevertheless, one can safely consider that Briec belonged to the category of feudal systems undergoing high population pressure. In such a situation, the landlord should exploit as fully as possible the customary arrangements typical of all feudal systems - and he is in a favourable position to do so. This provides another reason for the instability of the Breton peasants: a feature common to most feudal systems encouraged the landlord to evict his tenants as often as possible. The definition of rents in most feudal systems was customary. High population pressure in a mercantilized economy should produce a rise in rents, but in a feudal system the customary definition of rents made this impossible. Direct augmenting of rents being impossible, a technique frequently used consisted in increasing the entry fine paid by the tenant when he settled on a new farm. A systematic eviction of ^{small} tenants at the end of their lease permitted a permanent, though unsystematic, adjustment of the rents to the real value of land, as defined by its scarcity.

One can note, for instance, such an increase in the part played by entry fines and commutation rights in Western Europe in the 13th century.¹

Of course, as in the case of the share-cropping system, one cannot extend the results obtained for a feudal system under conditions of high population pressure to the same system in a phase of low population density. Indeed,

¹ Duby (G), L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval, pp. 472-476.

opposite conclusions should be drawn from the model just described. Geographical mobility should be fairly unimportant in an ideal, not densely populated, feudal system. The legal evidence from such places and periods confirms this point: restrictions on the mobility of peasants seem to have been a major issue in the manor regulations of the first part of the Middle Ages.

Further proof of this is given by the fact that licenses to "go abroad" from manorial records are now one of our main sources of information for the study of the rise in mobility during the Middle Ages. There was a time when peasants were not allowed to "go abroad".¹

The conclusions reached for the feudal system are much the same as those concerning the mezzadria. The resemblance is mainly due to a common feature: family farms not belonging to the peasants. But it is interesting to note that population pressure turns out to be a more important factor in the explanation of geographical mobility than the differences between these two types of agrarian system. This was not the case with capitalist farming where high population pressure was combined with a great stability among peasant families although not among peasant youths.

It is certainly too early to consider the geographical mobility pattern obtained for one example of capitalist farming system as absolutely general. It was easy to assess

¹ Raftis (J.A.), Tenure and mobility: studies in the social history of the medieval English village. pp 139-166.

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the representativeness of Longuenesse (and Hallines) for household structure: family organization has been thoroughly investigated for the whole of England.¹ As far as geographical mobility is concerned, we must rely on a less complete survey. The only comparable results we have on the mobility of households are to be found in Laslett's pioneer article on Clayworth and Cogenhoe. Clayworth confirms the results obtained for Longuenesse, But Cogenhoe does not. Mobility of households in this second English village was too high.²

The generality of the results obtained for Longuenesse must remain uncertain as long as the socio-economic structure of Clayworth and Cogenhoe has not been investigated.

One must add that the listings of Clayworth and Cogenhoe, although repetitive, are not suitable for a study of age-specific mobility because they do not indicate ages. This is a general problem with English listings and it seems that indices of the Longuenesse-Pratolino type cannot be obtained for English communities.

Geographical Mobility in Scania

The study of geographical mobility is particularly easy for 19th century Sweden. Besides the nominative listings, the local priests had to keep a migration register,

¹ Laslett (P), Mean household size in England since the 16th century in Household and family in past time.

² Laslett (P), Clayworth and Cogenhoe.

recording all departures and arrivals in the village. There are records of this type for Arrie and Hörröd which make it possible to devise a simplified method for the study of geographical mobility.

In the cases of France and Italy, we had to compare two successive nominative listings to obtain the number of arrivals and departures. New individuals appearing on the second listing were considered as arriving (if not born in the village during the year between the two listings), and individuals appearing on the first listing but not on the second were counted as departing (if their death had not been registered in the parish register). To do this, a great deal of nominal linkage of data given by several documents was necessary: the study of migration from nominative listings of inhabitants combined with parish registers is an incredibly time-consuming process. The existence of migration registers for Arrie and Hörröd means that the arrivals and departures are directly given by the documents.

The migration registers for Arrie and Hörröd do not give the ages of mobile persons: if we want to obtain a measure of age-specific mobility, we must look for the ages in the nominative listings. Some nominal linkage is still necessary, but the procedure as a whole is nevertheless greatly simplified.

The migration registers of Hörröd and Arrie also indicate the destination of people leaving the village, the place of origin of those arriving, and their occupations. The records for Hörröd also give the exact date - day and month - of

arrival or departure.

let us note that the migration registers of Sweden are almost too perfect: all movements were recorded, which means that very short trips - an individual spending a few days away for instance - were registered. Such movements were left aside by the technique used in the case of Longuenesse and Pratolino. In fact, in the case of Arrie and Hörröd, the periodicity of the censuses is irrelevant: the accuracy of the information given by the migration registers is equivalent to what would be obtained by a comparison of daily censuses. The figures obtained for Arrie and Hörröd are therefore overestimated.

Similar documents have been used by Ingrid Eriksson and John Rogers for a study of geographical mobility in the Stockholm region; the period of observation is a later one (1880) and the purpose of their analysis is slightly different. They do not insist on the age-specific pattern. However, the basic methodology is fairly similar to the one presented here and some of the results are comparable.¹

The pattern of geographical mobility in Arrie and Hörröd reminds us of Longuenesse. The curves also reveal a very clear age-specific distribution of arrivals and

¹ Eriksson (I) and Rogers (J), Mobility in an agrarian community, Practical and methodological considerations.

The terminology used in this article to present the various documents (parish register, nominative listing, migration records) is different from ours (English, French and Italian). What the authors call "parish register" is in fact what we would call "nominative listings" (husförhörslängden). What we call "parish register" (births, marriages and deaths) is called kyrkoböcker in Swedish.

Table 22Age-specific mobility : Arrie and HörrödDepartures (moving averages - five years)

	<u>Arrie</u> (1818 × 5)		<u>Hörröd</u> (1823 × 5)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
0 - 4	-	-	-	-
5 - 9	44	77	15	19
10 - 14	74	70	36	49
15 - 19	129	119	49	45
20 - 24	148	119	40	44
25 - 29	122	133	23	14
30 - 34	82	101	10	14
35 - 39	52	67	0	0
40 - 44	15	16	0	0
45 - 49	0	0	0	0
50 - 54	0	0	0	0
55 - 59	0	0	0	0
60 - 64	0	37	0	7
65 & +	-	-	-	-

Diagram 7

- . Age specific mobility in Arrie , Hörröd and Longuenesse
- . Men (departures)

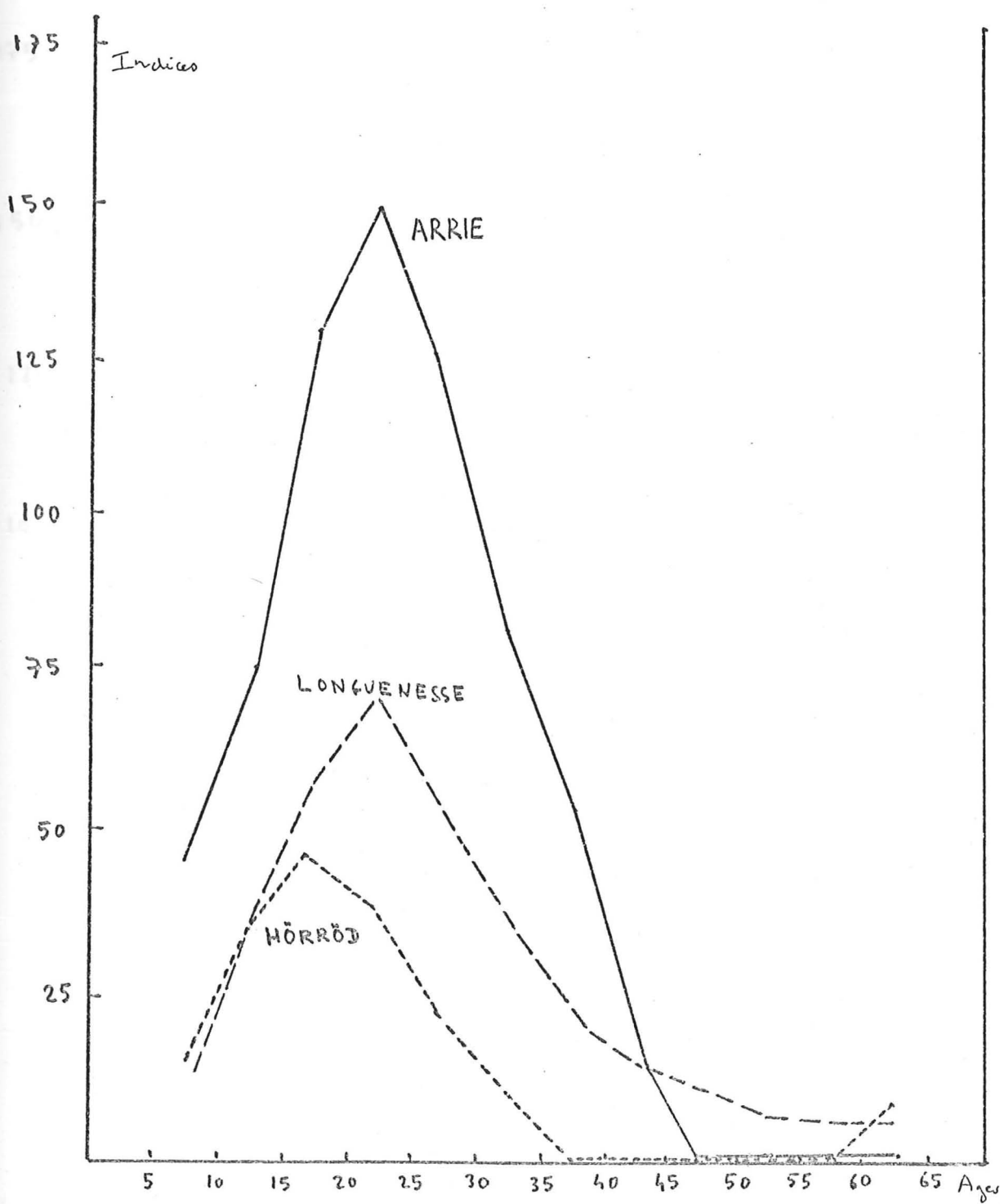
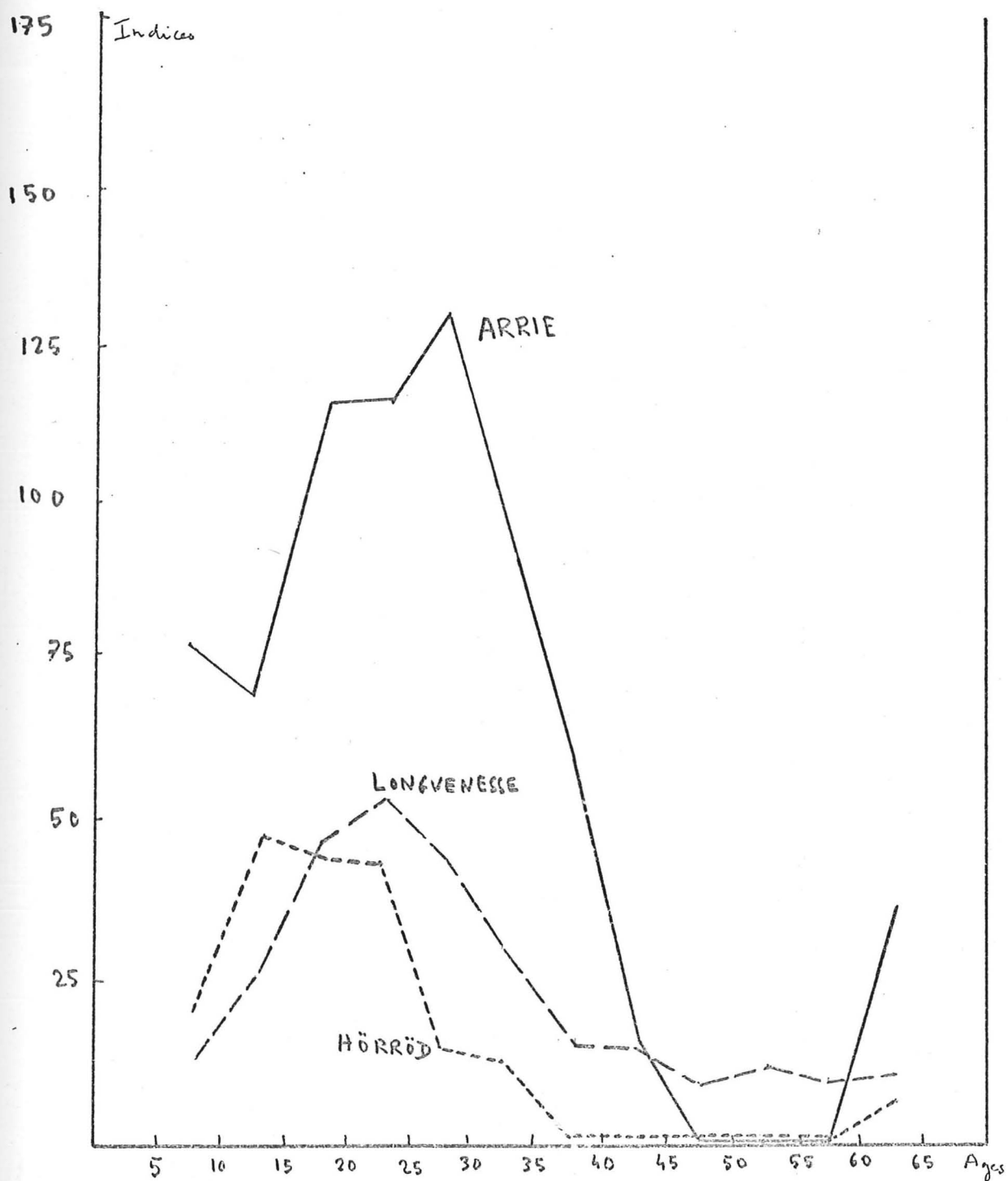


Diagram 8

- Age specific mobility in Arrie , Hörröd and Longuenesse
- Women (departures)



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departures. Young and unmarried individuals were mobile. A clear majority of the people appearing in the migration register were servants travelling from one village to the next, looking for jobs. In Hörröd, servants accounted for 62% of all departures between 1817 and 1825, in Arrie for 60% between 1818 and 1823.

Some group-mobility can be observed in Arrie and Hörröd, but the heads of mobile households seem to have been young in most cases: 30 - 35. This does not alter the clear age-specific pattern. The period of life during which people were likely to move was longer since it included the first years of marriage. Heads of mobile households were in most cases labourers. A similar phenomenon (mobility of young married labourers) was found in Longuenesse.

However, the analysis of a single year may produce important distortions, because of random variations, and these results should be considered as somewhat uncertain. The amount of group-mobility might be underestimated.

A distribution by month shows that departures and arrivals in Hörröd were concentrated on a very short period of time; 65% of all arrivals and 71% of all departures took place in October and November. It is during these months that servants were hired by farmers for a period of one year.

Table 23

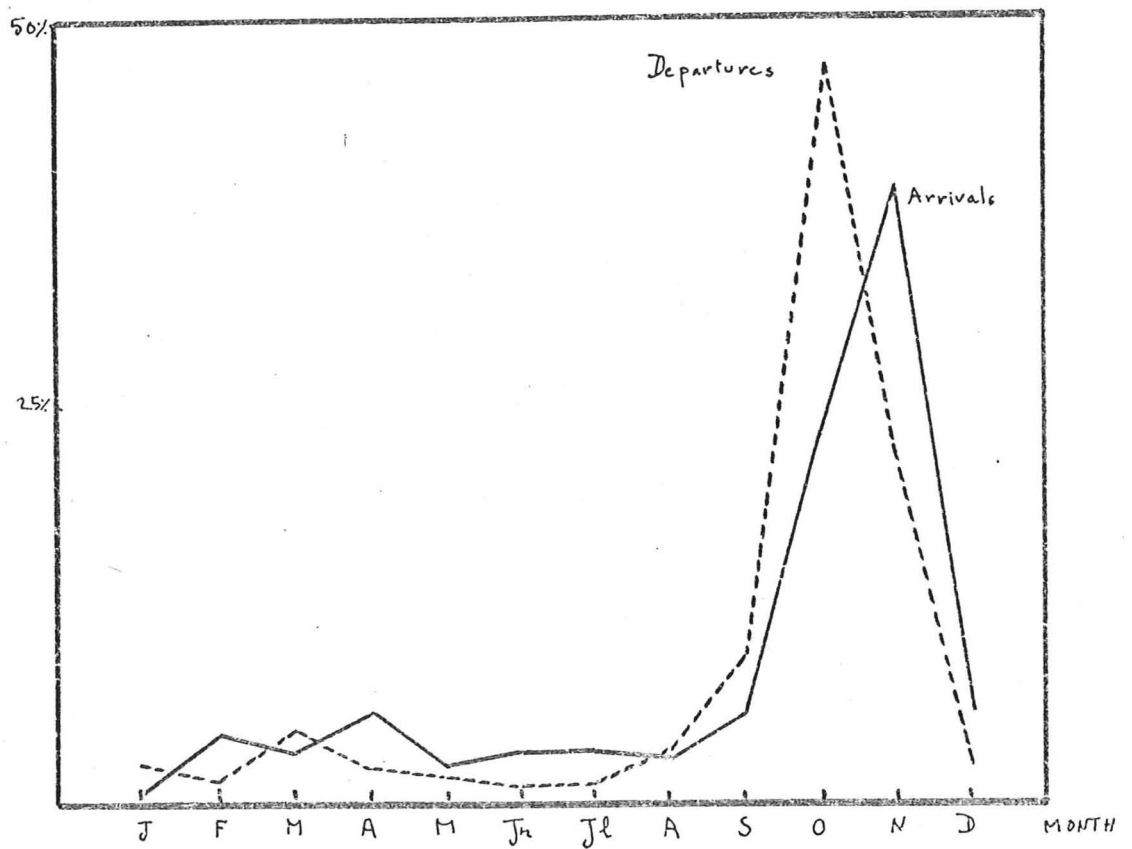
Departures and arrivals by month (1817-1827)

	<u>Hörröd</u>	
	<u>Arrivals</u>	<u>Departures</u>
January	0%	2.4%
February	4%	0.8%
March	3.2%	4.5%
April	5.6%	2%
May	2.4%	1.6%
June	3.2%	0.8%
July	3.2%	1.2%
August	2.8%	3.2%
September	5.6%	9.8%
October	24.4%	48.2%
November	40%	23.3%
December	5.6%	2%

Overall mobility indices make it possible to compare the general level of geographical mobility in the various communities. Such indices have already been presented for Longuenesse, Pratolino and Briec. The number of arrivals during a period of four years was used (not including

Diagram 9

Geographical movements by month in Hörröd (1817-1827)



arrivals followed by a departure within that period of four years). In the case of Arrie and Hörröd all departures during a period of five years, whether or not the individuals returned to the village during that period, will be taken into account. An index of this type is in fact almost directly given by the formulär which records the total number of arrivals and departures for a period of five years.

Table 24

Overall mobility indices (five years, all movements divided by total population)

1/ Hörröd :	from migration register :	departures	16.5
	from <u>formulär</u>	: departures	13
		arrivals	15

2/ Arrie :	from migration register :	departures	60
	Oxie district : <u>formulär</u>	: departures	27
		arrivals	27

3/ Longuenesse :		departures	25

The difference between Arrie and Hörröd is slightly magnified by the fact that 1818 was a year of exceptional mobility for Arrie, whereas 1823 was an average year for Hörröd.

Table 25

Number of movements per year as a proportion of the population

Hörröd

1817	2.7%	
1818	4.5%	
1819	2.9%	
1820	2.7%	
1821	4.5%	
1822	2.9%	
<u>1823</u>	3.4% Year for which an age-distribution has been calculated <u>Mean: 3.3%</u>
1824	3.2%	
1825	3.2%	

Arrie (*)

<u>1818</u>	15% Year for which an age-distribution has been calculated. <u>Mean: 12%</u>
1819	11%	
1820	13%	
1821	12.5%	
1822	9%	

(*) For Arrie, these figures contain a small amount of approximation. In the case of mobile families, not all children were registered. A small correction was therefore necessary.

The difference between Hörröd and the other villages cannot be considered as directly significant. Hörröd was almost twice as big in population size as Arrie and

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Longuenesse: 640 inhabitants against 300 and 360 respectively. The proportion of "internal movements" (movements taking place within a parish), not registered in the tables presented above, must have been much greater in Hörröd. The overall level of mobility seems much lower but a large part of the difference is due to the fact that internal movements are not taken into account. Mobility indices must concern parishes of roughly equivalent sizes to allow direct comparisons. However, mobility was clearly at a much higher level in Arrie than in Longuenesse and Hörröd. It was much easier to move in the region of Arrie than around Hörröd. The plain of Scania was much more densely populated, villages were more numerous and closer to one another. Movements covered shorter distances. This is demonstrated by Table 26.

Table 26

Destination of people leaving the village

	<u>Hörröd</u>	<u>Arrie</u>
0 - 3 miles	1%	46%
3 - 6 miles	23%	42%
6 - 9 miles	54%	8%
over 9 miles	22%	4%

(The proportion of geographical movements over a 0 - 3 miles distance is slightly underestimated for Hörröd: internal movements were more numerous in that bigger parish, and a number of these should be taken into account).

Geographical mobility was less intense in Hörröd but the mobile people covered longer distances. This was to be expected: population density was much lower in the region of Hörröd and as a consequence the number of job opportunities per square mile was also lower than in the plain of Scania. Still, there might have been other reasons to the greater distances found in the case of Hörröd: the differences between the two distributions presented in Table 26 are quite remarkable.

Mobility was primarily due to servants and these were more numerous in Arrie: 20% of the total population, against 12.5% in Hörröd. Let us note that the proportion of servants, like the overall amount of mobility, was the same in Longuenesse and Hörröd: 13% and 12.5% respectively.

Another factor explains the difference in mobility between Hörröd and Arrie. Social differentiation was more pronounced in Arrie and servants there were less frequently chosen among kinsmen. This distance between master and servant should naturally be accompanied by a higher rate of replacement of servants, and therefore by a higher level of geographical mobility.

The birth places of married people confirm that the population was more mobile in Arrie than in Longuenesse. In Arrie, only 22% of all spouses present in 1818 had been born in the parish against 51% in Longuenesse in 1780.

These results on marriage and geographical mobility seem to contradict the conclusions proposed by Swedish historical sociologists. "Quite a few community studies

(7)

from all parts of Scandinavia have mapped the geographical extension of marriage alliances. They show that the Norwegian saying 'Do not marry further away that you can sight the chimney smoke' holds true for many Scandinavian villages. The field of choice is usually concentrated to the local parish".¹

An overall and detailed comparison of times and places will be necessary. Table 27 presents a detailed distribution of married couples according to the birth-place of husband and wife.

Table 27 - 1

Arrie, married couples recorded in 1818

	<u>Wife</u>	
	Born in Arrie	Elsewhere
Born in Arrie	4%	23%
<u>Husband</u>		
Elsewhere	16%	57%

Table 27 - 2

Longuenesse, married couples recorded in 1780

	<u>Wife</u>	
	Born in Longuenesse	Elsewhere
Born in Longuenesse	17%	23%
<u>Husband</u>		
Elsewhere	46%	14%

¹ Löfgren (O), Family and household among Scandinavian peasants, pp. 33-34. See also: for Scania, Hanssen (B), Common folk and gentle folk, p. 95 - "70% of the adult population was born in the village". (18th century).

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This tabulation clearly shows the matrilocal pattern of residence after marriage typical of Longuenesse. The figures for Longuenesse mainly represent the marriages of labourers: these made up a large majority of the community. No clear pattern emerges from the global percentages for Arrie: a majority of marriages were neolocal, 57% of all married couples being composed of a husband and a wife born elsewhere. In 23% of all cases, only the wife was born outside, against 16% of couples with only the husband born elsewhere: the difference is not significant. But if we calculate separate percentages for farmers and labourers significant differences do appear. Table 28 demonstrates that although in both cases a majority of couples were composed of two spouses born outside (neolocal marriage), the remaining marriages were predominantly patrilocal for farmers, and matrilocal for labourers. The figures are small, but the results clear. We can also remark that the proportion of neolocal marriages was greater for labourers (65%) than for farmers (52%). The percentage of neolocal marriages among farmers seems very high when one remembers what has been said of the stability of the Swedish peasantry. In fact, most of these farmers (52%) were tenants (arrendator). For the majority of the farmers, stability seems to have started at marriage.

It is interesting to find again, in the case of Swedish labourers, a tendency to matrilocal marriage. This confirms the interpretation given for Longuenesse.

Table 28Farmers and labourers : ArriePlace of birth of husbands and wives of couples present
in 1818

<u>Farmers: 21 cases</u>		<u>Wife</u>	
		Born in the parish	Born Outside
<u>Husband</u>	Born in the parish	5%	38%
	Born outside	5%	52%

<u>Labourers: 20 cases</u>		<u>Wife</u>	
		Born in the parish	Born Outside
<u>Husband</u>	Born in the parish	-	5%
	Born outside	30%	65%

It can be noted that spouses born outside the village came from more distant places in the case of Longuenesse than in that of Arrie.

Table 29Distance between Arrie or Longuenesse and the birth-place
of spouses born outside

	<u>Arrie</u>	<u>Longuenesse</u>
0 - 3 miles	27%	28%
3 - 6 miles	56%	26%
6 - 9 miles	7%	20%
over 9 miles	10%	26%

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Only 17% of all married people born outside came from a village more than 6 miles away from Arrie; in Longuenesse, the proportion was 46%. What we find in Arrie is a very intense short-range mobility. However, if the number of spouses having travelled more than 6 miles is compared to the total number of married persons, whether born in the village or not, the proportion is larger in Arrie than in Longuenesse: 9.7% against 6.2%. This shows that despite the difference in pattern - as far as distance is concerned - geographical mobility was much higher in Arrie in all respects. Unfortunately, no similar distribution can be obtained for Hörröd.

The age at which mobility reached a peak came earlier in Hörröd than in Arrie. Can this difference be explained by socio-economic factors? Orvar Löfgren establishes a close connection between marriage and courtship pattern on the one hand, and local economy on the other. In communities where social differentiation was well advanced and land scarce, marriage was supervised and arranged by the families. Reciprocally, in villages where land was abundant and where wealth depended on work rather than property, courtship and marriage were free. It seems reasonable to infer from this that the mean age at marriage was lower in the type of community where no clear connection existed between marriage and property.¹

¹ Löfgren (0), Family and household among Scandinavian peasants, pp. 30-33. P. 33: "There are some interesting variations in this pattern, however, which point towards a higher marriage age for landed than for landless country folk during the 19th century."

In Hörröd where communal land, forests and wastes were important in the local economy, marriage must have come earlier, together with a fall in geographical mobility.

The geographical mobility pattern in Arrie and Hörröd was typical of a community where service was a fundamental institution and where adult farmers and labourers did not have to move after marriage. There was little difference between Longuenesse and Arrie or Hörröd as far as the age-specific pattern is concerned. The overall level was much higher in Arrie.

Geographical mobility in pre-industrial Europe

It is obviously impossible to propose a final conclusion on migration in pre-industrial Europe: two villages of Scania at the beginning of the 19th century, one community in Artois at the end of the 18th century, a Breton and a Tuscan parish in the first half of the 18th century do not provide an adequate sample. However, an assumption frequently met can already be questioned; stability can no longer be considered as the predominant phenomenon among peasants in pre-industrial Europe. In all the communities for which a detailed study was possible, a substantial amount of mobility has been found. It appears, when distances can be measured, that short-range movements

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predominated. People travelled to find a farm, a job as servant, or a suitable mate, but rarely went beyond a limit of fifteen miles from their village of birth.

The distinction between group mobility and individual mobility is a fundamental one: these two concepts describe quite distinct phenomena.

The geographical mobility of whole families in Tuscany and Brittany can be considered as a reflection of the low status and weak position of the peasants in the rural society. The mobility of young people looking for a job or a suitable mate in Artois and Scania has no similar implication.

Exogamy

Some historians probably overestimate the difficulties met by young people in their search for a suitable marriage partner in pre-industrial Europe.¹ They tend to consider fairs, matchmakers and other specialized institutions as absolutely necessary to the discovery of a husband or a wife outside the village of birth.

The supposedly high proportion of individuals related within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity made these exchanges of young people between villages necessary. But in the cases of Longuenesse, Hallines, Wisques, Pratolino, Briec, Hörröd and Arrie, specialized institutions were not indispensable to the proper functioning of the system of

¹ See, for instance: Flandrin (J.L.), Amour et sexualité dans les campagnes de l'ancienne France, pp. 110-121.

exogamy. People were fairly mobile before marriage - as children following their parents (group mobility: Pratolino, Briec), or as servants (individual mobility: Longuenesse, Hallines, Wisques, Briec again, Arrie and Hörröd). Underestimating these various types of geographical mobility leads to overestimating the importance of institutions such as fairs and match-makers.

The rise in the proportion of stable peasant owners in 19th century France and a resulting fall in geographical mobility are probably responsible for the importance of village dances, fairs and match-makers described by French folklore collectors in that period. But 19th century France cannot be taken as representative of pre-industrial Europe.

Our ideas about traditional society are mostly derived from evidence concerning nineteenth peasant societies. But there is no reason to believe that the nineteenth century was 'typical' of pre-industrial Europe. The eighteenth, seventeenth or even earlier centuries were probably very different. A first answer to this question about the representativeness of the nineteenth and particularly of the late nineteenth century is given by consanguinity rates.

High consanguinity rates often correspond - although not always - to low rates of mobility.¹ Rates of consanguinity seem to have increased considerably during

¹ See mobility and consanguinity pages 134-140

the nineteenth century, particularly in France, Italy and Sweden.¹

Lower rates of mobility or new attitudes towards kinship were the causes of the increased number of consanguineous marriages. These variable consanguinity rates clearly show that we cannot consider the second half of the nineteenth century as typical of 'traditional peasant society'. In fact, we must not consider the peasant communities of pre-industrial Europe as unchanging societies.

¹ Sutter J. Fréquence de l'endogamie et ses facteurs au XIXème siècle. In two French counties, for instance, maximal proportions of consanguineous marriages were reached around 1900. In Edern, a Finistère parish neighbour to Briec, the proportion rose from 2% in 1859-1860 to 3.8% at the turn of the century.

CHAPTER IV

THE KINSHIP NETWORK: TECHNIQUE OF RECONSTITUTION

Chapters 4 and 5 are concerned with kinship networks and kinship density. Chapter 4 describes a technique used for the reconstitution of kinship networks and defines the concepts and categories used for the calculation of kinship density indices. Chapter 5 then gives actual results and their interpretation.

Geographical mobility had to be studied before kin networks because it is an essential element in the interpretation of kinship density.

Indices of kinship density can be calculated for Halles, Wisques, Longuenesse and Pratolino only. Briec, Arrie and Hörröd will therefore be left aside: the technical reasons which make it impossible to carry out a reconstitution of the kinship network for these three parishes will nevertheless be exposed. However, we shall be in a position to make a fairly accurate guess as to what kinship density in these three parishes might have been, once the relationship between geographical mobility and kinship density has been established.

This part of the dissertation poses for 18th century peasant communities in Italy and France a question familiar to social anthropologists, but seldom asked by historians. How important was kinship in the organization and social life of small-scale communities in Western Europe before the Industrial Revolution?

Social anthropology can be defined as the study of communities with little or no social differentiation.¹ Social anthropologists have attempted to describe and classify societies according to their types of kinship system. Marriage rules and rules for establishing coherent groups of kin are clearly defined in most primitive societies and often rather sophisticated. However, a complete explanation of these complex kinship systems has not yet been offered by social anthropology and it would be presumptuous to propose one here. But one can note a striking characteristic which seems common to all primitive societies: the importance of kinship as a basic principle of organization in human relations.²

European societies between the Middle Ages and the Industrial Revolution were undoubtedly "differentiated" but it seems nevertheless reasonable to assume that a certain number of features must have been common to these

¹ On the definitions of social anthropology, see for instance: Lucy Mair, An introduction to social anthropology, chapter 1. I chose, naturally, a definition emphasizing the difference between primitive and peasant societies.

² For a clear and detailed account, see: Robin Fox, Kinship and marriage.

peasant societies and to primitive societies. The low standard of living and the precariousness of living conditions are two striking similarities. The scale of life generally, the small size of local communities, is another.

The difference between these two types of community lies in the fact that primitives are independent whereas peasants produce an economic surplus appropriated under the name of rent by a landlord.¹

Before trying to answer the question - was kinship important or not in peasant societies? - one should remember that the case is not definitely settled for primitive societies. A controversy concerning a fundamental problem has recently developed: the rules establishing kinship relations are very precise and individuals belonging to primitive societies frequently refer to them, but it is not certain that these rules are invariably enforced or applied. The distinction between what people think and say and what they actually do is widely recognised by social anthropologists, although they rarely apply it in their analyses.²

¹ "It is the production of a fund of rent which critically distinguishes the peasant from the primitive cultivator". Eric Wolf, Peasants, p. 10.

² Distinction similar to that between le vécu and le conçu according to Lévi-Strauss. To see how the distinction is made and not really applied by Lévi-Strauss, Fortes and Murdock: J.A. Barnes, Three styles in the study of kinship.

Edmund Leach applied this distinction to a Sinhalese village and discovered that in practice the peasants did not stick to their rules: the theoretical importance of kinship was coupled in everyday life with a simple solidarity between neighbours which had little to do with blood relationships.¹ This obviously does not offer a final answer to the question of kinship in primitive societies, if only because the monographs by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, which were being criticized by Leach, are primarily concerned with Africa and not Asia. But the case of this Sinhalese village calls into question a belief that had seemed firmly established: the fundamental importance of kinship in the type of community studied by social anthropologists.²

Only a research method using the distinction between norms and behavioural facts is at all appropriate to the study of kinship in pre-industrial Europe. In the 18th century, the rules concerning the organization of kinship relations in Western Europe were very few indeed. These rules fall into two main categories: secular and religious.

One rule is clear and common to all societies, the prohibition of incest. Consanguinity, as defined by the Roman Catholic Church, forbids marriage up to the third and fourth degrees of "consanguinity".³ This definition

¹ Pul Eliya, A village in Ceylon, by Leach (E.R.).

² Fortes (M), The dynamics of clanship among the Tallensi. Evans-Pritchard (E.E.), The nuer.

³ On degrees of consanguinity, see illustration p. 137 and note page 136

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³ On degrees of consanguinity, see illustration p. 137 and note page 136

of consanguinity is rather extensive but could in practice be legally transgressed through dispensations granted by episcopal courts and by the Papal court in Rome. Apart from a few minor rules like restrictions on the marriage of two co-godparents (a form of ritual kinship), the prohibition of incest was the only religious rule concerning kinship in Catholic Europe. It was a purely negative rule: apart from incest, all marriages are theoretically possible. The secular rules were inheritance customs ensuring the transmission of property from one generation to the next.

European rules concerning kinship relations prevented certain types of marriage and regulated the circulation of goods in families but they did not define kin-groups as institutions essential to economic activity and social life.¹

The part played by kinship rules in the life of peasants in pre-industrial Europe appears to have been relatively unimportant if one makes a quick comparison with other regions and periods. Theoretically, in 18th century England, France, Italy and Sweden the life of a peasant was not rigidly determined by his belonging to a closed group of kinsmen.

Rules underline the weakness of kinship as a principle of organization. One must now turn to behavioural facts and see whether or not they contradict these rules. The line of argument pursued here will be parallel but opposite

¹ We are not concerned here with the upper strata of society. Kinship was obviously a basic institution for European aristocracies.

in direction to that of Leach. The common principle is the hypothesis that some contradiction might exist between rules and facts, between theory and practice. But Leach describes strong rules opposed to a weak practice, while we have to look for a strong practice contradicting weak rules.

In the case of a differentiated society, a divergence between rule and fact is not equivalent to a difference between what people do and what they think they do. The peasant cannot be considered as the maker of the rules he has to apply. Most of the rules were created and imposed from outside the village by institutions which were not direct and simple products of the peasant sub-society: the manor, the church, and the state. In contrast with the primitive, the peasant is not independent.

The Church and the State, in the days of the Ancien Régime, were mostly interested in the nuclear family because it was founded upon the sacrament of marriage or because it was an ideal unit of taxation. Knowledge of the rules alone must give a distorted picture of kinship relations in pre-industrial Europe. Indeed, one may suspect that the Church and the State had some interest in being actively hostile to any kind of group likely to interfere in their dealings with individuals. Ecclesiastical and fiscal evidence must therefore be considered with caution. We have seen that even the Status Animarum which forms the documentary basis of this study can sometimes be rather misleading. A vicar, as a representative of the Catholic

Church, often had a tendency to be more interested in conjugal family units than in households.

From household structure to kinship density

Research on the family in pre-industrial Europe has rapidly progressed in recent years as witnessed by the publication of the collection of studies published as Household and Family in past time.¹ The introduction of the book proposes a typology of households applicable to different sorts of censuses and cultures. Most of the contributions concerned with Western Europe underline the predominance, for the period of the Ancien Régime, of the nuclear family, a married couple and their children. These conclusions have been criticized in Chapter 2.

Early censuses make it possible to reach fairly precise conclusions concerning kinship relations within households. But kinship links within households are only one part of the total kinship network of a peasant community. Jack Goody in his contribution to Household and family in past time on The evolution of the family emphasizes the importance of the study of kin-connections between households, in addition to the study of connections situated within a household.

"The main changes that have occurred do not centre upon the emergence of the 'elementary family' out of extended kin groups, for small domestic groups are

¹ Household and family in past time, P. Laslett editor. Cambridge University Press, 1972.

virtually universal. They concern the disappearance of many functions of the wider ties of kinship. (...) Changes of this kind cannot be derived from the study of the household alone, since they have to do with the relationships between members of separate households, and especially adjacent ones. Specific steps have to be taken to obtain the information required to document changes in the morphology or function of such a network and it is rarely possible to do this from the usual type of census based upon domestic groups".¹

It is true that a census alone does not allow an analysis of kinship networks beyond the household. But a technique for the reconstitution of kinship networks is suggested in the following pages, combining the information given by a census with that provided by the register of births, marriages and deaths in a parish. Indices of two types will be developed for the description of the kinship network, of absolute and relative kin density. These indices make it possible to add the analysis of kin networks for a complete community to the structure of the individual households composing it.

The state of historical research on kinship relations beyond the household

A sociologist can, up to a point, create his data by interviewing. It is not possible to interview 18th

¹ Goody (J), The evolution of the family, in Household and family in past time, p. 119.

century peasants.

The family life of Ralph Josselin is the first Essay in historical anthropology.¹ Macfarlane uses the wealth of information given by the diary of a 17th century "yeoman-clergyman" which records subjective feelings. One does not only find names of kinsmen and neighbours in it: it is possible to know whether these were liked or not. Macfarlane is therefore able to use the concept of "effective" or "recognized" kinship, as opposed to theoretical kinship, the latter taking all blood relations into account and the former only accepted or remembered blood relations.

Neighbours can be observed on various occasions, such as the births of children. Macfarlane was able to compare Josselin's kin network with those of Mr Newbolt, member of the British working-class, and of Mr Daniel representative of the middle-class, both living in the 20th century.²

It is impossible to find anything "subjective" in a nominative listing or a family reconstitution, to know whether people loved or hated each other, whether there was a great deal of mutual help in the village or not. All that the nominative listings and the family reconstitutions can give us is a set of "objective"

¹ Macfarlane (A), The family life of Ralph Josselin. A 17th century clergyman. An essay in historical anthropology.

² From Bott (E), Family and social networks: See The Family life of Ralph Josselin page 158.

elements: blood relations within the parish territory. It is possible to know how large households were, or how many kinsmen one had in the village as a whole, whether individuals were isolated or not. But the true nature of the relationship between kinsmen remains obscure: were these objective relations a cohesive or a disruptive force within the village community? We do not even know whether they had any importance at all. Cohesion may not be the general case. This is quite clear when one considers an article by Nicole Castan on family crime.¹ It shows the frequency of family crime - 23 cases out of a total of 35 between 1690 and 1728 - in a region situated in the South of France. From a detailed study of court records, the article manages to define the structure of the family in terms of social roles. Both the larger family and the nuclear family appear to have been at the same time bound and divided. This material is much richer in information than a nominative listing. My standardized documents are in some ways poorer than a personal diary or judicial records. We lose some depth of information, but we cover more ground.

Macfarlane obtains the kinship network of someone who was not an average individual. A vicar-yeoman belonged very distinctly to the upper part of the village social scale. The exceptional richness of a document is quite often counter-balanced by the untypical nature of the facts

¹ Castan (N), La criminalité familiale dans le ressort du Parlement de Toulouse. p. 105

it records. The higher one looks on the social scale, the richer the documents, but the farther away the rural community.

The judicial records used by Castan only relate conflicts but seem safer than a diary, a set of marriage contracts or a set of wills. To express oneself by means of a diary, one had to be educated; to make one's will, one had to possess something. The areas of society revealed by such documents tend to be partial. On the contrary, law enforcement has to be universal. In the days of the Ancien Régime, law had to be enforced on the unprivileged bulk of the people.

When compared to these other research techniques, the advantage of nominative listings of inhabitants is twofold: they are exhaustive, covering whole villages, and allow quantification with some degree of accuracy.

We can obtain a description of the morphology of the kinship network, a set of objective elements, a systematic answer to the question "who was kin to whom?".

But kinship as it was felt, effective kinship, is much more difficult to grasp, as well as relationships between non-kin neighbours. Blood relations have been recorded, not mutual aid.

Only one exhaustive document may throw some light on these human relations: baptism entries in the parish registers. This sacrament was the occasion for choosing godparents who were sometimes kinsmen. This device will enable us to reach the behaviour and attitudes of peasants

more directly than a rough reconstitution of kinship networks.

The following quotation, from a book by W.M. Williams, refers to an English village in the nineteen fifties:

"Just under half the occupiers and their wives have 'family' relationships with at least one other household in the parish. (...) Over 80% of occupiers and their wives are 'closely' related to at least one other household in the parish and nearly 65% are closely related to two or more households."¹

This is a simple objective statement which does not depend on how people feel about their kin. It is a rough measurement of kin density: the number of kin-connected households in a given area. We can obtain comparable results for 18th century villages.

Method: minimal and maximal kin-networks

The method used here to reconstitute the kin-networks in a given community at one point in time is a by-product of historical demography. One combines a nominal list of inhabitants and the corresponding parish register. The nominative listing gives the state of the population distributed into households at one point in time, and the parish register makes it possible to trace kin-connections between individuals, hence between households. It obviously saves a great deal of time if one can use an already completed

¹ Williams (W.M.) Gosforth, the sociology of an English village, p. 72.

Family Reconstitution rather than reconstitute genealogies directly from the parish register.

At this stage, one comes across a major problem, that of missing genealogies. Bits of genealogies cannot be reconstituted for two main reasons. First, because of possible imperfections in the parish register, such as incomplete marriage entries, or registers starting too late in time to record a sufficient number of generations. Another case of missing genealogy is far more important. We might call it systematic. Let us imagine two siblings, both marrying into the same village, but born elsewhere. And let us suppose that both marriage ceremonies take place at their birth-place. If we study the village where they live after marriage, we shall find no genealogy connecting the two. This type of information leakage is more important because it is bound to be biased. A number of genealogies are suppressed by geographical mobility itself. This is rather confusing: we know that the reconstituted genealogies give only a minimal kin-network, but how minimal we do not know.

Only one solution to this problem is available: restricting the kin-network to first degree relations, one can obtain a maximal estimate of the kin-network by using surnames. This maximal estimate makes it possible to check on the validity of the minimal estimate obtained from reconstituted genealogies. First degree kin-connections

are those between siblings or between children and parents.¹

A kin reconstitution consists in taking the individuals living in a community at a given date by pairs, all possible pairs, and in trying to find out whether the two individuals composing these pairs were related or not. In a number of cases, the genealogies allow us to give a positive answer; in other cases, the genealogies make it possible to give a negative answer, when two genealogies are complete and unconnected. But sometimes no definite conclusion is possible because either or both of the genealogies are missing.

But to be related in the first degree, two persons must bear the same surname. We are assuming here that a woman keeps her maiden name after marriage and simply adds her husband's name to this maiden name. This condition, i.e. bearing the same surname, enables us to eliminate most of the impossible pairs. We are left with some cases where two persons bear the same surname but cannot be either proved or disproved to be related by the genealogies because one at least is missing. If the numbers of such pairs is not too high, we must consider two possible kin-networks:

- a maximal kin-network for which all such pairs are held to be composed of related individuals.

¹ First degree connection according to Canon Law. Civil Law considers that there is a 1st degree connection between a parent and his or her child and a 2nd degree connection between two siblings.

- a minimal network for which all such pairs are held to be composed of unrelated individuals.

We can then safely assume that the actual network lies somewhere between minimal and maximal.

If one supposes the documents to be perfect, the range of variation between minimal and maximal is a function of two main variables:

- the variety of surnames in relation to the size of the population

- the frequency of "linked-migration", of cases in which two related individuals migrate together, as in the previous example of two siblings marrying into the same village but coming from another place. It will be seen that such geographical movements are of major importance for kin-density and that their frequency is highly variable.

This method, using a minimal and a maximal estimate of the kinship network (and, as a consequence, of kinship density) will be applied to France in this essay. It has been used for Hallines, Longueuesse and Wisques.

Tuscan documents raise two additional problems:

1) The nominative listings of Tuscany do not indicate the wives' maiden names, and this makes a direct estimate of the maximal kinship network impossible. This absence of the wife's maiden name is not particular to Italy: it is a feature of most English listings. In the case of Tuscany, the absence of maiden name may be taken as a reflection of the dependent status of women. This is confirmed by the way women are named in most of the entries

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of the parish register: they are always indicated as someone's wife of someone's daughter, never as an independent individual. These characteristics fit in rather well with the clear sex-differentiation observed for household structure and geographical mobility. Of course, this does not apply to England.

2) Baptisms, marriages and deaths are recorded in three separate registers in most of Tuscany and these three registers do not usually correspond to the same geographical area. Quite often, the baptism register covers a wider area. For instance, the central baptistry of Florence was used by the inhabitants of most of the town parishes and probably by quite a few peasants. The child's parents were not bound to any particular baptistry and could choose between several if they wished to. As a matter of fact most families had different children baptized in different baptistries. This is a very important drawback for family reconstitution¹ but, paradoxically, this second characteristic feature of the Tuscan documentation provides a solution to the first if it is combined with a peculiarity of Pratolino listings.

It was impossible to use in Italy an already completed family reconstitution as in the case of Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines.² A peculiarity of the Pratolino listings

¹ This is the reason for which C. Corsini and M. Livi-Bacci have to carry out a family reconstitution on a very large scale, in the region of Fiesole.

² The family reconstitution for the parish of Hallines was carried out at the French Institut national d'Etudes Démographiques and was kindly communicated to the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and social Structure by Professor Louis Henry. The family reconstitution for Longuenesse and Wisques was carried out at the Cambridge Group by Valerie Smith.

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made it easy to reconstitute directly, without the information given by the parish registers, the male part of the kin-network: the listings of Pratolino themselves give the name of the males' fathers. Considering the sufficient variety of surnames we can assume that if two individuals have fathers bearing the same surname and christian name they are brothers. The phrase in a nominative listing (for Pratolino only) is usually the following:

"Domenico figlio di Simone Vannini"

I have examined at the Archivio Vescovile di Fiesole about twenty series of nominative listings and the Pratolino censuses were the only ones of this kind. It is obviously because of this peculiarity that I chose it. However, the genealogies of married women still have to be traced¹ if we want to obtain a complete reconstitution of the first degree kin-network. One can find the maiden names of married women, together with their fathers' names in the baptism entries recording the birth of their children. These entries indicate the name of the child's father, the mother's christian name, and the mother's father's complete name (christian name and surname). A baptism entry thus provides information on women equivalent to that directly obtained from the nominative listings for men.

¹ Only the genealogies of married individuals are reconstituted. See below: Unit of measurement; the conjugal family unit.

Peasant families in Pratolino were extremely mobile and a large proportion of married women could be lost simply because they had no time, during their short period of residence in Pratolino, to bear any children recorded by a baptism entry in the parish register. In fact, the problem does not arise because the geographical area covered by the baptism register of San Cresci a Macioli, the baptistry nearest to San Jacopo a Pratolino, was so vast that people rarely went far enough to leave its area of registration. Most mothers had several children in the course of their lives as married women and this increased the probability of their having at least one child baptized in San Cresci a Macioli. The result of all these combined circumstances is that the genealogies of only three married women are lacking.

The technique of reconstitution used for Pratolino is thus very different from that applied to the French parishes and, as a consequence, there is no need - and indeed no possibility - of making a distinction between minimal and maximal kin-networks.

In the three cases where no baptized child has been found for a married woman neither surname nor genealogy is known, and neither a maximal nor a minimal estimate can be made. A christian name alone cannot be considered as a sufficient identifier. But these cases are too few to affect the final result of the comparisons.

¹ Pratolino was almost exactly located at the centre of the area covered by the baptism register of San Cresci a Macioli.

Pratolino is a special case: no equivalent analysis of another Tuscan parish can be carried out. A careful inventory of all the Tuscan nominal lists of inhabitants, in the episcopal archives and the local parishes, would certainly make it possible to find at least one comparable community. For the moment, we shall have to suppose that Pratolino was typical of Tuscany as far as kinship networks are concerned. This is of course a gross oversimplification: in the case of kin-densities, variations within one type of agrarian system can be more important than differences between two altogether different types. This point will be made clear by the comparative analysis of the three Northern French villages, Hallines, Wisques, and Longuenesse. This kind of comparison cannot be made for Tuscany.

In the course of the following chapter, only a few examples of maximal estimates will be given for Hallines, Wisques and Longuenesse. For the three villages, the range between minimal and maximal varies between 3 and 6%. This is indeed satisfactory and means that one can consider, in the tables following the first verification, such a narrow margin of uncertainty as non-significant.

A maximal estimation must be considered as a verification, but as an absolutely necessary verification. A counter example can be given: the kinship density calculated for Hallines in 1820 had to be eliminated from the results. The range of variation between maximal and minimal estimates had become so great as to make a definite conclusion impossible. The range between the two indices passes from

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6% for absolute kin-density in 1776 to 37% in 1820. (Maximal/minimal equals 106% in 1776; and equals 137% in 1820).¹

It is impossible to know, in the present state of research, whether the widening of the range between the two dates was due to the increase in population, combined with a constant stock of surnames, or to an increase in the frequency of simultaneous geographical movements of related individuals.

This is not the first 'kinship reconstitution' ever attempted. Geneticists have produced a considerable amount of work on kinship networks and consanguinity. E. Essen-Möller, working on a mid-twentieth century population, carried out a kinship reconstitution on a very large scale.² To do this, he also combined the information given by census listings with that given by registers of births, marriages and deaths. Familial interrelatedness in a Swedish rural population is a very sophisticated analysis of blood relations in a set of rural communities in Scania. The Swedish documentation, for the twentieth and nineteenth centuries, is so good that Essen-Möller was able to trace kinship relations as distant as second cousins. In the present essay, only relations between parents and children and between siblings are taken into account.

¹ See appendix 3 on kinship density in Hallines in 1820.

² Essen-Möller E. Familial interrelatedness in a Swedish rural population, Supplementum ad 'Acta Genetica et Statistica Medica vol 17, 1967, 77 pp.

³ On Essen-Möller's work see also Kinship density in Arrie and Hörröd p. 253

Unfortunately, the results obtained by Essen-Möller cannot be compared to those presented in the following pages for several reasons.

- the types of kinship relation taken into account are not the same in the two cases, as explained above.
- the populations studied in the present essay and in Familial interrelatedness in a Swedish rural population are not equal in size (350 and 2250 respectively); the number of kinship connections likely to be found increases as a function of population size.
- different types of quantitative indices are derived from the two kinship reconstitutions. Geneticists are interested in blood relations between individuals and in their possible biological consequences. But the indices of kinship density presented in the following pages emphasize relations between families and their social significance.

Unit of measurement: the conjugal family unit

It turned out that kinship density had to be estimated by conjugal family unit (in short: CFU) rather than by household. Counting links between households would leave out of the final indices links between conjugal family units but situated within households. The problem is mainly that of classifying multiple family households containing several CFUs. Let us take the theoretical example of a village where each CFU is related to one other CFU and where each pair of related CFUs constitutes a single multiple family household. Family structures would be very

complex indeed. But a kin network estimated by household would give the following result: 100% of all households are unrelated to any other household. This would be a rather distorted picture. This problem has to be faced because it is now evident that households were not always simple family households in pre-industrial Europe: our theoretical example presents some similarities with the case of Pratolino.

Accordingly, kin-connections will henceforward be counted "by CFU" (links between CFUs) but a distinction will be made between two categories of links:

- links between CFUs belonging to a common household
- other links, that is to say links between CFUs belonging to different households in the same parish.

The first category corresponds to the complex household structures which constitute Category Five in Laslett's typology: multiple family households. But extended family households are considered as equivalent to simple family households in the measurements.

In a number of cases, an intermediate category has been added: that of links between neighbouring families, living in different households, but next door to each other. It is not always possible and meaningful to do this because two conditions have to be fulfilled:

- 1) The nominative listing has to follow a topographical order
- 2) The settlement has to be fairly linear.

This last category can be applied to Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques, but not to Pratolino where the settlement pattern

was one of scattered farmsteads. But neighbourhood analysis could be applied to Briec, although the settlement pattern there was also of the scattered type. In Pratolino, isolated farmsteads were the typical units of settlement; in Briec, small hamlets including several houses were the basic units: one can apply the concept of propinquity to families living in the same hamlet but not in the same household.

Links between CFUs but within households, which one might call internal links, were of very little importance in Wisques, Longuenesse and Hallines, because multiple family households were very few. The following table summarizes, for each type of settlement, which categories are applicable.

<u>Type of link</u>	<u>Artois</u>	<u>Tuscany</u>	<u>Brittany</u>
External	+	+	+
External plus propinquity	+	-	+
Internal	-	+	+

The settlement pattern raises other technical problems.

Kinship network and settlement pattern

In this essay, the kinship network of an individual, or of a CFU, is defined as the number of kinship relations with individuals or CFUs, situated within walking distance of the individual or CFU in question. This definition can be easily applied to the inhabitants of a nucleated village

like Hallines, Wisques or Longuenesse. It is less suited to the case of a scattered settlement like Pratolino or Briec.

The villages of Northern France were composed of houses concentrated along a few streets. The individuals situated within walking distance of any given inhabitant were in fact all the village inhabitants. One can consider that other neighbouring villages, nucleated in the same way, were clearly defined and isolated geographical units, and were therefore far more difficult to reach for the inhabitants of the first village. These neighbouring parishes can be considered as situated beyond walking distance.

The situation was different in the Tuscan countryside. From the point of view of ~~an~~ isolated poderi, located on the periphery of the parish, some poderi belonging to neighbouring parishes were less distant than a number of poderi situated at the centre of their own parish or close to the opposite side of the periphery.

These peripheral poderi are cut off from a part of their kin-networks, situated within walking distance but outside the parish, by our purely administrative definition of the area of study. The kin-network, and the kin-density deduced from it, must be considered as underestimated if we only take into account links within the parish. I shall try to give a more accurate estimate of the kinship density in Pratolino by studying kinship links between the two chapelries constituting the parish of San Jacopo a Pratolino:

San Jacopo a Pratolino itself and San Pietro in Caligarza. These links, internal to the parish,¹ make it possible to evaluate approximately the number of external links between peripheral households and neighbouring parishes. To do this, one must obviously consider the distribution of kinship links in space as relatively uniform.² The correction takes into account the length of the periphery of Pratolino and its approximate shape, which is compared to the length of the common border between the two subdivisions of the parish, San Jacopo and San Pietro.

Even after this correction, the results obtained for Pratolino on the one hand, Hallines, Wisques and Longuenesse on the other, are not strictly comparable. A nucleated village is an obvious unit for social relations whereas a parish in a region of scattered farmsteads is only an administrative framework. One must bear in mind that the average distance between two related households was much greater in Pratolino than in Longuenesse, Hallines or Wisques. It took between one and five minutes to go from one village house to any other one in Artois, but probably five to thirty minutes in a parish like Pratolino.

¹ But which must not be confused with strictly internal links, i.e. within a household.

² See: the kinship network extending beyond a village community for a verification of this hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

THE KINSHIP NETWORK: RESULTS

Four pre-industrial communities and a contemporary English village

The first result derived from the reconstitution of kin-networks is a distribution giving the percentages of unrelated CFUs, of CFUs related to one, two, three or more other CFUs, which is similar to the distribution presented by W.M. Williams in his book on Gosforth. This makes it possible to compare Gosforth in the nineteen fifties with 18th century rural communities in Artois and Tuscany.¹

Results are presented "by household" for Gosforth but there, as in Hallines, Longuenesse or Wisques, most households were simple family households, which makes them equivalent to CFUs.²

In Gosforth, just under half the occupiers and their wives had a "family relationship" (first degree connection according to our terminology) with at least one other household in the community.

In Hallines, between 82 and 85% of all CFUs had a first degree connection with at least one other CFU in the community. One can see that in the case of Hallines the range between minimal and maximal network is very small; the same is true of Longuenesse and Wisques.

¹ Williams (W.M.), Gosforth, the sociology of an English village, pp. 69-85.

² Ibidem, p. 52.

In Longuenesse, a minimum of 70% of all CFUs had a first degree connection with at least one other CFU. The maximal estimate is 72%.

In Wisques, between 57% and 59% of all CFUs had a first degree connection with at least one other CFU.

It appears from these first results that variance in kinship density between different types of pre-industrial community was considerable. In the case of Hallines, Wisques and Longuenesse, variance is found for villages belonging to the same category of agrarian system.

Pratolino does not seem to have been distinct and different from the group of Artesian villages. The proportion of 76% of related CFUs appears as intermediate between the indices for Longuenesse and Hallines.

The percentage obtained for Pratolino must be considered as an underestimate.¹ In fact, the case of Pratolino was probably closer to that of Hallines than is shown by the percentage. But our concern here is with a crude comparison between this sample of pre-industrial communities on the one hand, and the post-industrial community of Gosforth on the other. Differences and similarities between the four communities composing the sample are not at issue for the moment.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the comparison of Gosforth with these four pre-industrial communities.

¹ As explained above, p. 212

Although Hallines, Wisques, Longuenesse and Pratolino were communities with a very high level of geographical mobility, Gosforth has the loosest kinship network. (The relations between mobility and kinship density will be studied in greater detail in the following paragraphs, but one can guess that geographical mobility tends to loosen the kin-network; the relation between the two variables is in fact more complex.) Only Wisques had a kin-network resembling that of Gosforth, but nevertheless marginally stronger. It is interesting to note that Williams, in his comments on the figures he obtained for Gosforth, decided that they described a strongly inter-connected kin-network.

"the resulting high degree of physical consanguinity which is characteristic of Gosforth provides a biological basis for a complex and important network of social relationships".¹

However, in comparison with "modern" pre-industrial communities, the kinship network was fairly loose in Gosforth.

It is not possible to infer from this rough comparison that the density of the kinship network was greater in all pre-industrial communities, whatever the underlying agrarian system, than in any post-industrial rural community.

Our sample is not representative of all European pre-industrial communities, and Gosforth is even less

¹ Williams W.M. The sociology of an English village, page 69.

representative of all post-industrial communities. Indeed, given the well-known uniqueness of contemporary British agriculture, one might consider that Gosforth was probably untypical of Western Europe as a whole. One can give the counter-example of Llanfihangel in Wales, a pastoral village, with medium sized holdings, where 66% of all households were related (in 1950) to other households; this percentage is almost equal to the one obtained for Longuenesse.¹

One must be aware of the fact that very little quantified data is available on kin-density for contemporary Europe. I have examined contemporary local monographs on European communities only for Britain, France, and to a certain extent Italy, but as one goes through the literature on the subject one rapidly realizes that the reconstitution of kin-networks by direct interview must be more difficult and time-consuming than the technique presented in the preceding chapter. Interviewing is probably less easy than historical work on parish records. Gosforth and Llanfihangel are the only quantified examples that I found for contemporary rural communities.²

¹ Rees (Alwyn D.), Life in a Welsh countryside 1950 - University of Wales Press Cardiff. Quoted in Frankenberg (R), Communities in Britain, p. 49-50, Pelican 1966.

² List of contemporary monographs in the relevant section of the bibliography (sociology and social anthropology).

Table 30

	Gosforth	Hallines min. max.		Longuenesse	Wisques	Pratolino
Total number of CFUs		50	50	42	23	58
Unrelated	(50%)	18%	14%	26%	43%	24%
Related to one CFU		30%	34%	36%	39%	33%
Related to two CFUs		22%	18%	19%	14%	31%
Related to three and +		30%	34%	19%	4%	12%
Total % related	(50%)	82%	86%	74%	57%	76%

The kinship network in Gosforth (1950-1953), Hallines (1776), Longuenesse (1778), Wisques (1778) and Pratolino (1721).

Wisques is a small village belonging to the parish of Longuenesse, but distinct from the village of Longuenesse. An example of a maximal estimation of the kinship network is given only for Hallines: it shows that the maximal and minimal estimates are very close to one another.

CFU is the standard abbreviation for Conjugal Family Unit.

Absolute kinship density

The distributions presented in Table 30 are an exact representation of the density of the kinship network, but they are rather difficult to handle when one compares more than two communities. Each kinship network is described by four percentages (adding up to 100%) and, in practice,

one tends to consider only the percentage of CFUs "unrelated" to other CFUs, or more frequently the overall percentage of CFUs related to one, two, three or more CFUs, (complementary to 100%) and to take this last figure as a valid representation of kin-density. This is what we did in the preceding pages when we compared Gosforth to the pre-industrial sample: the percentage of related CFUs was taken as representative of kin-density.

In this case, in trying to cover too much ground by keeping complete distributions, one tends to forget that some CFUs are related to more than one CFU, and that these additional connections should be taken into account. This is the reason why two types of linear indices measuring kinship density are proposed which take into account the multiple connections in the distributions but are nevertheless represented by a single figure. One number measures absolute kin-density for a given community at a given date, another number represents relative kin-density for the same village at the same date.

One can define absolute density as:

- the total number of kinship connections between CFUs
- multiplied by 2
- and divided by the total number of CFUs.

This density can easily be deduced from the kind of distribution presented in Table 30, if the numbers of links are expressed as absolute numbers.

If,

m CFUs are related to 0 CFU (i.e. unrelated)

n " " " 1 CFU

p " " " 2 CFUs

q " " " 3 CFUs

r " " " 4 CFUs etc...

the total number of kinship links will be:

$$\frac{0.m + 1.n + 2.p + 3.q + 4.r + \dots}{2}$$

and absolute kinship density will therefore be:

$$\frac{0.m + 1.n + 2.p + 3.q + 4.r + \dots}{m + n + p + q + r}$$

where the denominator represents the total number of CFUs in the community (the multiplication by 2 implies that each link is counted twice: a distinction is thus established between a link from CFU A to CFU B and the same link between CFU B and CFU A).

--:--:

The same formula can be expressed in another way as "the average number of CFUs to which the average CFU is related".

The kin-densities thus obtained do not modify the results of the previous comparison between our four pre-industrial communities.

Table 31

Absolute kin-density in four pre-industrial communities

	<u>Percentage of related CFUs</u>	<u>Absolute kin-density</u>
Hallines	82%	1.73
Longuenesse	74%	1.36
Wisques	57%	0.77
Pratolino	76%	1.35 (but when corrected as explained on pp. 212-213 1.61) ¹

The relative positions of the communities have not changed but the differences are amplified.

Interpretation

To give a correct interpretation of kinship density, we must first have a clear idea of the functional relationships between kinship density and other variables.

Absolute kinship density, as it is defined here, is a linear function of the number of kinship links existing between the members of a community. One only takes into account first degree kinship links. First degree kin-connections are of two types:

- links between parents and children
- links between siblings.

¹ See: Kinship network and settlement pattern.

Let us suppose the existence of a peasant community with no geographical mobility at all: all the individuals would stay in the same village from birth to death. In such a situation, the number of kinship links at any point in time would be a direct function of demographic rates: fertility, mortality, nuptiality. The number of children and their distribution per family determine the number of kinship links. The rate of nuptiality also plays a part because only married couples are taken into account.¹

We shall have to consider as negligible possible variations of demographic rates between the different parishes we are studying, because we have not yet sufficient demographical information at our disposal. These rates will be considered as equal for all pre-industrial communities, which is obviously a gross over-simplification and certainly not a completely realistic hypothesis.

If demographic rates are equal, and if there is no geographical mobility and no random variation, absolute kinship density will be the same in all communities. Only a difference in mobility patterns can modify the equality arising from identical demographic rates, by severing kinship links between the individuals who stay in the village and those who leave it. Each departure breaks a number of links between parents and siblings on the one hand, and the migrating individual on the other.

¹ Unmarried individuals are left out. See: Unit of measurement: the CFU.

It seems reasonable to suppose that very different geographical mobility patterns can give rise to variations in kin-density greater than those caused by minor differences in demographic rates. This certainly seems to have been the situation as far as Hallines, Longuenesse, Wisques and Pratolino are concerned. This hypothesis is fairly safe for Wisques, Longuenesse and Hallines: one might expect fertility and mortality rates to be on the whole equal in three neighbouring villages. But the case of Pratolino is less clear. When the family reconstitution for Fiesole now in progress at the Dipartimento Sperimentale Statistico-matematico of the University of Florence is complete, it will be possible to compare the results obtained by French historical demography for Northern France and Italian historical demography for Tuscany.¹

The validity of our assumption on the nearequality of demographic rates could be tested in this way and compared to the effect of geographical mobility. Such an exercise would of course require a great deal more modelling and

¹ See: Corsini (C.A.), Livi-Bacci (M.), Santini (A.), Spoglio dei registri parrocchiali e ricostruzione delle famiglie in Italia. French historical demography: see: Henry (L.), La population de Crulai; Goubert (P.), Beauvais et le Beauvaisis; Ganiage (L.), Trois villages de l'Ile-de-France.

perhaps some computer simulation.¹

We may begin with a comparison of the variations in absolute kinship density observed within a single type of agrarian system, capitalist farming: Longuenesse and Wisques represent ideal versions of this type of agrarian organization whereas Hallines, though generally similar, still retained a few small land-owning peasants. After this, we shall proceed with the comparison between two different types of agrarian system, capitalist farming and share-cropping.

Variations within one type of agrarian system

There are striking differences in kin-density between Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques, which all belonged to the same broad type described as capitalist farming. These variations are in some respect greater than those observed

¹ It seems that SOCSIM, "a demographic-sociological simulation program" could be used for this purpose. This program is the outcome of co-operation between E.A. Hammel and D.W. Hutchinson (Berkeley), P. Laslett (Cambridge) and K.W. Wachter (Oxford). The first application of this program was a "simulation experiment evaluating demographic constraints on stem-family household formation", presented at the Cambridge conference on "Microsimulation and related mathematical tools for studying historical social structure (8-10 July 1974). The analogy with a "demographic constraints on kin-density" is evident. This latter case would require a different distribution of the kinship links resulting from the demographic rates: the total number of links within the village community would have to be considered instead of a distribution of these links into separate households. But the SOCSIM program does not include a simulation of migration.

between some of these villages on the one hand, and Pratolino on the other. Variance within one type of agrarian system can be greater than variance between two altogether different types of agricultural organization. As explained above, a difference in absolute kinship density must correspond to a difference in geographical mobility.

It is impossible to study age-specific mobility in Hallines, and the part of this essay describing migration in Artois refers only to Longuenesse and Wisques.¹ However, the higher kinship density in Hallines implies that the population was less mobile there than in Longuenesse and Wisques.² But one of the results obtained for the two latter villages can nevertheless be applied to Hallines: the cessation of geographical mobility shortly after marriage. Geographical mobility was less intense in Hallines, but the age-specific pattern was probably the same as in Wisques and Longuenesse.

When geographical mobility stops after marriage, the rate of exogamy (proportion of spouses born outside) measures fairly accurately the result of all the movements of individuals from birth to death: the location of an individual does not change between marriage and death.

¹ To Longuenesse and Wisques taken as a whole: the very small number of movements between the two villages means that treating them as a single settlement raises no problem. The bigger population thus obtained reduces random variations.

² This is a necessary relationship if we suppose that demographic rates were equal and that there were no random variations. On logically necessary relationships see introduction pages 16-18

In such a situation, kinship density is simply determined by the location of individuals at the time of their marriage because they do not move afterwards. One must remember that only links between CFUs, between married individuals, are taken into account.

Since the location of individuals at the time of their marriage is accurately given by the rate of exogamy, absolute kinship density must be a relatively simple function of the rate of exogamy. Not entirely, however, because a certain number of kinship links suppressed by a marriage out of the village can be compensated by the arrivals in the village of pairs of siblings. This type of linked-migration adds one item to the initial stock of kinship connections in the village. But the number of such cases was negligible for Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines. This is in itself an interesting result. Simultaneous movements of siblings were rare; group mobility in general was almost non-existent in Longuenesse. This means that migration in 18th century Artois was seldom guided by kinship relations.

Absolute kinship density was higher in Wisques than in Longuenesse, and higher in Longuenesse than in Hallines; the rates of exogamy of the three villages, in the period preceding the years 1776 and 1778, must have been different. High for Wisques, medium for Longuenesse and low for Hallines.

Let us consider Longuenesse as an average case and try to explain the cases of Wisques and Hallines as diverging

from this mean. Two distinct explanations can be proposed:

1) Land-ownership and geographical mobility

The peasants of Hallines had excellent reasons for not leaving their village of birth to find a marriage partner: more of them owned land in their village of birth than was the case with their Longuenesse counterparts. 45% of the land was owned by resident peasants in Hallines, as against only 16% in Longuenesse. As a consequence of the existence of small peasant property, the distribution of land holding was slightly less concentrated in Hallines than in Longuenesse and one could even find in Hallines a handful of middle independent peasants, men neither working for wealthy farmers nor employing wage labour.

The table below gives a comparative distribution of holdings by size in Hallines and Longuenesse in 1780.

Table 32

Percentage of the village territory occupied by holdings of:

	<u>0-20 acres</u>	<u>20-60 acres</u>	<u>60-140 acres</u>	<u>140 and +</u>
Longuenesse	14%	4%	7%	75%
Hallines	26%	4%	25%	45%

Below the twenty acre-limit, a holding in Artois in the 18th century could not be considered as self-sufficient. The occupier of such a small plot had to work as wage labourer for a big farmer to make a living. The difference between the 14% of land occupied by labourers in Longuenesse and the 26% in Hallines is nevertheless an important one. It

provides a first explanation for the difference in absolute kinship density between Longuenesse and Hallines. Land-ownership bound the peasants to their village of birth, and the very small number of marriages outside the village implied by immobility maintained absolute kinship density at a high level. Fewer links were broken by migration.

This connection between kinship density and land-ownership must not be confused with the relations between household size and farm size. A similar connection was established above in the case of Pratolino, and was also used for Briec. There was no similar relation in Longuenesse or Hallines because of the use of wage-labour.

A household was an economic unit whereas a group of kin-connected individuals was not, at least in 18th century Western Europe. Behind the relationship between a large household and a large farm was some necessity of farm management. But the correlation between absolute kinship density and percentage of land owned by peasants is of a different nature, although family relations and land are again the variables. In the case of Hallines, the percentage of land owned by the peasants was not high enough to have any influence on household structure: 26% of the land was occupied by small peasants which was too low to represent independent family farms.¹ In Hallines, kinship density had nothing to do with farm management. It will be seen that such was not the case with Pratolino. In Hallines, a relatively dense kin-network (absolute kin-density was equal

¹ See: Household structure, pp. 66-67

to 1.36) was combined with the same simple household structure.

The two variables, household structure and kin-density, are clearly distinct.

The rather dense kin-network characteristic of Hallines was an automatic and probably unconscious effect of immobility, itself induced by land-ownership - not the other way round. The amount of land owned by peasants was not the effect of a strong kin-organization directed against outsiders. There is a very straightforward and easy explanation for the variation in the amount of land owned by peasants, and particularly by labourers. Hallines was more distant from the town of Saint-Omer than Longuenesse, and the local bourgeoisie presumably did not want to buy more land in the more distant place. One should perhaps add to the difference in distance a difference in the quality of soils. If this first explanation is the right one, the kin-network was dense because no mobility determined by a complete severing of the relationship to land had been imposed from outside.

The characteristic feature of this explanation is that peasants are presented as absolutely passive.

A different factor, will be proposed to explain the weak kinship network and low kinship density found for Wisques and will also provide an alternative explanation for Hallines. But the amount of land owned by peasants cannot be used to explain the low kinship density in Wisques because the pattern of land-ownership was the same in Wisques and Longuenesse.

2) Marriage and the kinship system

Wisques certainly was a community where a situation of independence of kinship density vis-a-vis the agrarian system could be found. There was no difference at all between the agrarian organization in Wisques and in Longuenesse; nevertheless, kinship density was much lower in Wisques: 0.77 as against 1.36 in Longuenesse. The distribution of land holding was identical in the two villages.

The factor which led the natives of Wisques to move out of their village more frequently than their Longuenesse counterparts was probably the very small size of the settlement: 23 CFUs as against 42 in Longuenesse. The fact that it was forbidden to marry a kin-related individual up to the fourth degree of consanguinity must have been a constraint in a community as small as Wisques. The village had to maintain a rather high rate of exogamy to carry out this rule. Some forms of computer simulation would be necessary to establish a strictly defined relationship between the size of the community and the level of exogamy required by the rule of non-consanguinity.

The creation of the rule cannot be attributed to the peasant community itself. It must be considered as imposed from outside by institutions beyond the control of the peasantry, by the Catholic Church.

Hallines was bigger than Longuenesse, in terms of population, and this could explain the lesser tendency of its inhabitants to "marry out", to look for a marriage

partner outside their village of birth. For villages bigger than Wisques, it is difficult to know whether the question of incest - as defined by the Roman Catholic Church - was really a constraint and had a great influence on the propensity of people to move out. Not until the complete mathematical relationship between the rate of exogamy and the kinship network (up to the fourth degree) has been worked out, will it be possible to know whether or not the actual level of exogamy was equal or above the theoretically necessary level required by the rule of non-consanguinity. In the latter case, a high rate of exogamy would correspond to a free attitude on the part of the peasants and to their desire to have some variety of choice in their search for marriage partners. All we know so far is that above a certain limit the size of the village cannot be considered as a factor likely to act upon exogamy. Beyond that limit, all villages - whatever their size - would be big enough to respect the rules concerning the avoidance of incest without exogamy. But we have no idea, so far, as to what the limit might be.

Wisques was certainly below such a limit, but the matter is less easy to settle in the case of Longuenesse and Hallines. The obligation to marry out because of the rules of non-consanguinity, and the wish to have a sufficient variety of choice of possible marriage partners are both, as explanations of exogamy, totally independent of the agrarian system. They are connected with the size of villages only. The smaller the village, the higher the pressure to marry out.

This explanation can be applied to Hallines. Hallines was bigger than Longuenesse; the pressure to marry out was therefore lower, and absolute kinship density higher. This explanation does not contradict the one presented in the previous paragraph - associating absolute kinship density with the proportion of land owned by peasants. Each of the two could be one part of the truth.

Another type of index, relative kinship density, will give more weight to the second of the two factors, exogamy considered as an independent variable, and will tend to confirm that the kinship system in 18th century Artois had some degree of independence vis-a-vis the agrarian system. But no final conclusion can be reached at this stage of research.

Relative kinship density

Relative kinship density is here defined as the proportion of kinship relations in the total number of possible relations in a community.

Thus,

$$\text{Relative kinship density} = \frac{\text{number of actual links}}{\text{number of possible links}}$$

The number of possible relations is determined simply by the size of the population, by the number of CFUs, since only links "between CFUs" are counted. If a community is composed of N CFUs the formula giving the total number of possible relations between the CFUs taken two by two is:

$$N(N - 1)$$

$$\text{Number of possible links} = \frac{\quad}{2}$$

Since absolute kinship density is in fact the number of actual links multiplied by two, and divided by the number of CFUs (N), the formula can be expressed as:

$$\text{Relative kinship density} = \frac{\text{absolute kinship density } N/2}{N(N - 1) / 2}$$

$$\text{Relative kinship density} = \frac{\text{absolute kinship density}}{N - 1} \quad 1$$

Relative kinship density can be expressed in another way, in terms of probability: it is then the "probability that any two CFUs picked up at random in a given community be related".

Relative and absolute kinship density express different facts:

- absolute kinship density is concerned with the absolute number of kinsmen the average CFU has in the village
- relative kinship density is concerned with the proportion of kinsmen in the population.

One can pass from absolute to relative density by a simple division by (N - 1), by population size minus one.

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¹ One can find a very clear description and commentary on this kind of mathematical treatment in an article on Social Networks by Barnes. His definition of density is equivalent to my definition of relative density, p. 232 Barnes (J.A.), Social Networks.

If there is no geographical mobility and if demographic rates are the same in all villages, absolute kin-densities must be equal. What becomes of relative kin-densities under similar conditions?

The relative kin-density for a given village can easily be deduced from the absolute kin-density by a division by $(N - 1)$. Absolute kin-density being constant under the preceding conditions relative kin-density must vary as a linear function of community size. The bigger the village, the lower the relative kin-density.

We can now see what becomes of kin-densities in Wisques, Longuenesse and Hallines if they are transformed from absolute into relative indices.

The three villages had a population of 23, 42 and 50 CFUs respectively. In the absence of geographical mobility, relative kin-densities should be unequal but determined by village size only. If K_a represents a common absolute kin-density calculated for completely stationary populations, the relative densities will be:

$$K_a / 22, \quad K_a / 41, \quad K_a / 49$$

What can actually be observed for Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques is very different from this theoretical model. It is interesting to discover that the effect of differential migration on relative kin-densities was an almost perfect equalization.

Table 33

	<u>Absolute kin-density</u>	<u>Relative kin-density</u>
Hallines (1776)	1.73	3.5%
Longuenesse (1778)	1.36	3.3%
Wisques (1778)	0.77	3.5%
Pratolino (1721) (*)	1.61	3.4%

(*) corrected - see: Kinship network and settlement pattern.

It is difficult to know whether this equality of relative kinship densities was a random phenomenon or not. The fact that the relative kin-density in Pratolino was the same as in Artois cannot help us.

I do not see how one could connect this equalization with the first explanation given for the inequality in absolute kinship density, the one associated with the question of land-ownership. But one can indeed try to establish a relation between this equalization and the pattern of exogamy. Does this equality in kinship density mean that some kind of automatic, unconscious but certainly not random process led to a systematic equalization of relative kinship densities? This process would of course be connected with choice of marriage partners or incest prohibition. Here, we are again considering exogamy as a possible independent variable.

But before we come to a final conclusion it will be necessary to establish a strictly mathematical relationship between:

- 1) Relative kin-density
- and 2) The variations in exogamy as a function of village size, these variations being determined by:
 - a) the wish for some variety in the choice of marriage partners

or

- b) the requirements of the rule of non-consanguinity.

Did the wish for some variety in the choice of a marriage partner - a variety equal and common to all villages in a given "cultural area" - imply an automatic equalization of relative kinship densities? If this was the case, then the equality of the kinship density for Pratolino must be considered as due to chance. Pratolino did not belong to the same cultural area as Hallines, Wisques and Longuenesse.

The adjustment of the villages to the requirements of the rules of non-consanguinity, if it is the explanation, would provide the most elegant answer. The rules applying to Pratolino, Wisques, Hallines and Longuenesse were the same: the equality in relative kin-density would simply reflect the presence of the same Catholic Church and of the same incest prohibition in the four communities.

These last two explanations do not take into account the correspondence observed in Artois between the percentages of land owned by peasants and absolute kinship densities. The facts presented in this essay cannot lead to a final conclusion. We shall need more facts and more theoretical modelling. We shall have to establish precise mathematical relationships between choice of marriage partner, rules

concerning the prohibition of incest, and relative kin-densities; all these variables are to some extent functions of "village size". The relationship between Catholic rules, village size and exogamy should be the first to be considered. Random variations should also be taken into account.

However, although no final conclusion can be reached, one may at this early stage evaluate the logical position of the two major possible conclusions:

- First possible conclusion:

Variations in the proportion of peasant owners induced variations in mobility which were themselves the causes of the variations in absolute kinship density in the three villages. The equality of relative densities was due to chance.

- Second possible conclusion:

The marriage pattern was independent of the agrarian system. Rules concerning consanguinity or choice of marriage partners were the major factors. One can admit, in this case, that the kinship system had some degree of independence but that marriage was the important element. The kinship network was the mechanical result of marriage patterns. It is impossible to admit that the deliberate and ultimate purpose of 18th century Artesian and Tuscan peasants was to equalize relative kinship densities at 3.5%. No conscious mechanism could lead to such an equalization. It will be seen later that behaviour towards kin was certainly not influenced by relative kin-density, but perhaps by absolute

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kin-density. The proportion of kin in the population was probably meaningless to 18th century peasants.

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The kinship network in two different agrarian systems:

Longuenesse and Pratolino

One can consider that kinship density, whether absolute or relative, does not establish clear differences between my examples of capitalist farming and share-cropping system. The difference between absolute kinship density in Wisques (0.77) and in Hallines (1.73) was much greater than the difference between Longuenesse (1.36) and Pratolino (1.35 or corrected: 1.61). Kinship density does not provide a good criterion for the classification of agrarian systems. But is it possible to conclude that the two types of agrarian system had no influence on kinship density?

A more detailed study of the kin-networks in Longuenesse and Pratolino shows that it is not possible to consider the two cases as identical.

Household structure and the kin-network: links within a household and within a community

It has been explained in chapter 4 that kin-densities, as calculated here, take into account all links between CFUs and that a certain proportion of these links connect CFUs belonging to the same household (internal links). This type of link cannot be considered as equivalent to links

between CFUs belonging to the same community but to different households (external links).

The second type of link establishes a relation between two different households whereas the first does not. A connection has a different meaning when it relates two households and when it is the basis of a multiple family household.

The question does not arise for Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques where household structure was almost entirely simple and where multiple family households were marginal. But in Pratolino, household organization was extremely complex, and links between CFUs belonging to a single household - internal links- made up an important part of the total number of links in the whole community, nearly one half (47%).

Pratolino:

Proportion of internal links : 47%

Proportion of external links : 53%

If we take only links between households into account, and disregard those between CFUs belonging to the same household, absolute kinship density is diminished by a half. The same modification has almost no effect on the figures calculated for Wisques, Longuenesse and Hallines, as shown by the following table:

Table 34

Absolute kin-densities in Wisques, Longuenesse, Hallines and Pratolino. Internal and external links

	<u>All links</u>	<u>External links only</u> (between households)
Hallines	1.73	1.69
Longuenesse	1.36	1.36
Wisques	0.77	0.69
Pratolino (corrected)	1.61	0.8

In Pratolino, one half of the kinship links connected co-resident nuclear families but kin-density between households only was by no means negligible (0.8). It was low, but still above the figures for Wisques, and this means that even after the reduction Pratolino is situated within the range of variation of absolute kin-density displayed by our set of Artesian villages. Pratolino also remains well above Gosforth for the percentage of households related to at least one other household: 65% in Pratolino, as against 50% in Gosforth.¹

The poderi of Pratolino were not totally isolated from the rest of the community. The topographical isolation of the poderi was not combined with a complete lack of kinship ties between large family-groups.

¹ Williams (W.M.), Gosforth, the sociology of an English village. Gosforth is similar to Wisques, Hallines and Longuenesse as far as household structure is concerned: the simple family household was predominant. Consequently, links between households and between CFUs are equivalent.

Kinship and geographical mobility

If one remembers the very high rates of geographical mobility of households observed in Pratolino, the kinship density there appears as decidedly high. The relationship between kinship density and mobility was very different in Pratolino and in Artois. In the case of Pratolino, the rate of exogamy was not closely connected with kinship density as it was in Longuenesse: in Pratolino geographical mobility of married persons contributed to shape the kin-network. The relative position of the CFUs was not fixed once and for all at the time of marriage.

One might expect geographical mobility to eliminate all kinship links between households, whether the movements take place after or before marriage. This did not happen in Pratolino because the kinship network acted as a guide to geographical mobility. It has already been noted that in Longuenesse pairs of related servants could rarely be found (siblings for instance) and that mobility was almost always individual. On the contrary, it seems that in Pratolino such a type of "linked mobility" was predominant.¹ Kinship connections broken at some stage were re-formed later.

¹ One must not confuse the terms group-mobility and linked-mobility:
- Group-mobility refers to the movements of a single household.
- Linked mobility, in the present context, refers to parallel movements of two households.
But it is true that group-mobility can be considered as a form of linked mobility of individuals.

Individual and group-mobility are distinct phenomena: a young unmarried person can look for employment by travelling light from one village to the next, without knowing before starting off whether or not jobs are available in the community he chooses as a goal. If he cannot find a job after all, the possibility of going back to his family of origin is still open to him. This applies to Longuenesse.

But multiple or extended family households cannot travel light. They can move out but cannot go very far without guidance, without having a definite goal. A large family must in fact know where poderi are available, empty, and whether their landlord is ready to hire a mezzadro family. Kinship seems the only institution that can provide such a guidance system for finding a free holding. So, when it moves, a multiple family household has a strong tendency to go to a place where some related household is already established. And this re-creates a kin-connection in the parish of arrival.

The process as a whole explains the compatibility of the two apparently contradictory elements: very mobile households and intermediate level of kin-density between households. In Longuenesse, a geographical movement simply broke a number of kinship connections whereas in Pratolino, most geographical movements broke some links but re-formed others at the same time. It must be obvious, however, that the kin-network in a place such as Pratolino, under conditions of high mobility, can never be very dense since - to be re-formed - links must first have been broken at some

earlier stage in the life of individuals. Linked mobility can only minimize the dissolution of kin-connections.

This complex relationship between kinship and mobility can be numerically demonstrated. At least 9 households out of the 23 arriving in Pratolino between 1721 and 1731 were related in the first degree to households already resident in the parish. Three other households were probably related although a measure of uncertainty remains. If included, these three households would raise the total number of mobile households related to other households in the parish of arrival to 12, that is, over 50%. And this does not take into account, second, third, and fourth degree kinship links.

Similarly complex relations have been noted in a number of cases between socio-geographical mobility and kinship in industrial societies, where kinship networks may give emigrants some help on their arrival in a new place of residence. But it seems that in industrial societies kin-networks appear as an encouragement to movements already desirable for socio-economic reasons. In Pratolino, kinship was the only help available when a mezzadro was dismissed. Mobility in Pratolino, was either purely geographical, when the household succeeded in finding another job, or entailed downward social mobility when the household broke up and turned into a collection of labourers' simple family households (pigionali).¹ What one finds in advanced

¹ Giorgetti (G), Agricoltura e sviluppo capitalistico nella Toscana dell' 700, p. 751.

"Vi e un continuo ricambio fra questa classe di proletari agricoli e i mezzadri".

industrial societies tends to be upwards social mobility.¹

The conclusion reached for Pratolino is therefore different from the one obtained for Wisques, Longuenesse and Hallines: in the case of Tuscany, we know for certain that there was some degree of independence of kinship networks. The part played by kinship appeared clearly at times of crisis, when a mezzadro and his family were dismissed by their landlord.

Landlords had two objectives in maintaining a high rate of turnover on their farms:

- preventing a threat to the very definition of property, preventing a peasant family from settling forever on a particular farm,
- weakening the peasant community as a whole.

It seems, from the study of kin-networks, that only the first of these goals was achieved. Mezzadri were systematically dismissed, but kin-networks were used by the peasants as a basis for a re-formation of previously broken links, and therefore of the peasant community.

A (recently arrived mezzadro) in a given community was not a complete foreigner because, generally, members of his kin already lived in the parish. Insecurity of employment resulted in a strong and conscious emphasis on kinship ties. The study of choice of godparents will further demonstrate this point. Conversely, security in Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines, the absence of forced geographical mobility after marriage, rendered institutionalized kin-

¹ Harris (C.C.), The family, chapter 5, pp. 122-148.

solidarity useless.

The main advantage of a kinship relation over any other type of relationship is that it is unconditional. It is strictly defined by genealogical rules, independently of people's will. In pre-industrial societies, kinship alone allowed this type of unconditional and institutionalized relationship.

Friendship, based on a relationship of good neighbourliness for instance, must be kept alive by relatively frequent contacts. The long distances frequently resulting from geographical mobility in Pratolino made frequent meetings difficult or almost impossible. Friendship must have been difficult to maintain at a distance; kinsmen living in different villages remained kinsmen whether they liked it or not. Society defined them as such and there was no choice about whether or not one was kin to someone. Genealogical rules defining kinship vary according to the type of society, but one form or another of genealogical definition is the only basis on which to form an unconditional group which does not depend on the will of individuals. It is interesting to note that in regions of Latin America where community life is intense, people still feel it necessary to institutionalize friendship ties by godparenthood ritual relations.¹

¹ See Wolf (E) and Mintz (S.W.), Ritual co-parenthood (compadrazgo) in Kinship Goody (J) editor, Penguin modern sociology readings.

The kinship network extending beyond a community

Geographical mobility takes individuals out of their village of birth where their parents and siblings still live, thus "breaking" a number of kin-links. But instead of considering these kin-links as simply "broken" we can distribute them into a number of other categories. To our first categories - i.e. links within a household and links within a community - we can add an almost endless number of categories defined by the distance from one particular village community.

The result would be a table of the following type:

- links within a household (internal)
 - links within a community (external)
 - links within a 10 miles radius
 - links within a 20 miles radius...
- etc.

It would be possible, if such a distribution could be obtained, to cancel the effect of differential demographic rates by using percentages of the total number of links instead of absolute numbers. One would thus measure the overall tendency of kin to spread from the family or village of birth. This type of measurement would be more accurate. But to obtain such a complete distribution of kin-links one would have to reconstitute kin-networks over an area much wider than a single parish. It is out of the question to try and obtain such a perfect series of indices for France and Italy. Suitable sets of nominative listings covering ten or fifteen villages cannot be found in these countries. Isolated listings are rare enough in France, and most

Tuscan listings are not as good as those discovered for Pratulino and do not make kin-reconstitution possible. One can however obtain a few results concerning kinship connections between a few neighbouring parishes in Artois and Tuscany.

Wisques, Hallines and Longuenesse

Wisques was neighbour to Hallines and to Longuenesse, yet only one kin-link existed between Hallines and Wisques¹ and none between Wisques and Longuenesse. This last figure is particularly striking because Wisques and Longuenesse belonged to the same parish. Kinship links seem to have avoided the first belt of villages around Wisques and Longuenesse, although there were no geographical obstacles between the two villages and beyond. Only one link existed between Wisques and Hallines, but kin-connections between Hallines and the neighbouring village of Wizernes, located in the same valley, were probably more numerous. This result concerning the village of Wizernes, for which we have no nominative listing, can be inferred from what we already know of the relationship between exogamy and kin-networks in Artois. If mobility stops after marriage and if there is little "linked mobility", kinship networks can fairly easily be deduced from the pattern of exogamy. There must be a close resemblance between the distribution of kinship

¹ The dates of the kinship reconstitutions for Hallines on the one hand, Wisques and Longuenesse on the other are slightly different (1776 and 1778) but there is no reason to believe that this minor difference introduces any significant distortion.

links between villages and the distribution of spouses coming from other villages.

This enables us to predict the existence of numerous kinship relations between Hallines and Wizernes. People from Wizernes appear frequently in the parish register of Hallines as immigrating spouses. The fact that very few kinship links existed between Wisques, Longuenesse and neighbouring villages is reflected by the average distance between Wisques and Longuenesse on the one hand, and by the place of birth of immigrating spouses appearing on the parish register of Longuenesse on the other. This average distance was ten miles, well above the average distance between Longuenesse and neighbouring villages.¹

Such a rough estimate of inter-parish kinship connections is impossible for Pratolino where geographical mobility did not stop after marriage and where exogamy was therefore only loosely connected with kin-density.

The number of kinship links between the two chapelries (San Jacopo and San Pietro) distinguished in the parish of Pratolino² was much greater than between Longuenesse and Wisques. The actual number of links between San Jacopo a Pratolino and San Pietro in Caligarza was three; this figure is not very impressive in itself, but it is enormous when compared with the naught obtained for Wisques and Longuenesse. The documentation for Pratolino does not permit a study of

¹ 3 to 4 miles.

² See: The kinship network and the settlement pattern.

the place of birth of immigrating spouses but, as has been explained above, such a piece of information would be difficult to interpret: there was too much linked migration and too much mobility after marriage.

We know from the kinship reconstitution that ^{the} movements of households seldom carried them beyond the limits of the area defined by the baptism register of San Cresci a Macioli. From this, and from the number of links between Pratolino and Caligarza, it seems reasonable to infer that the kin-network was fairly continuous in the region as a whole, and that kin-connections did not avoid the first belt of parishes as was the case in Wisques and Longuenesse. This first belt of parishes, around Pratolino, was in fact the area defined by the baptism register of San Cresci a Macioli. Parish boundaries defined an administrative unit and nothing more in Pratolino. The social unit beyond the podere was an area which, although small, was larger than the parish. In Wisques and Longuenesse on the contrary, the natural unity and isolation of each community was strengthened by the total absence of links between neighbouring villages.

Types of relation: wives and parents

The term "kinship link", as it has been used up to now, considers all connections as equivalent, whatever the type of individuals connected. There has been no distinction so far between men and women, parents and children, brothers and sisters. We must now consider the kinship links as belonging to distinct categories. Relations between the

different generations of the village community and relations between the two sexes will be treated in that order.

Generations

Two types of kinship links can be distinguished: links between two different generations; links within a single generation. The first type consists in a parent-child relationship, the second in a relationship between siblings. Table 35 presents the distribution of links according to these two categories for Hallines, Longuenesse, Wisques and Pratolino.

Table 35

Intra-generational and inter-generational links

	<u>Between two generations</u> (parent-child)	<u>Within a single generation</u> (siblings)
Hallines	47%	53%
Longuenesse	35%	65%
Wisques	60%	40%
Pratolino	20%	80%

(calculated for Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques from minimal kinship networks)

One must interpret these figures with great caution because a classification emphasizing differences in age is more sensitive than any other to differences in mortality quotients in the four communities, whether these were due to a different demographical equilibrium at a regional level or

to local random variations. At this stage of research, no attempt will be made to suggest an explanation of the differences between Longuenesse and Hallines.

The low kinship density in Wisques was responsible for the high proportion of links between two generations: a young individual moving out of the village breaks only one link between two generations (link with his parents) but in most cases several links within one generation (links with his siblings). This explains why, in Artois, (other things being equal) a low kinship density must be combined with a high proportion of inter-generational links and a low proportion of intra-generational links.

Pratolino, this time, lies outside the range of variation displayed by the three Artesian villages. The importance of relations between siblings in the Tuscan parish is striking: 80% of the total. From this result, we can probably infer that the part played by people of the older generation in the life of the community was a minor one. A very high proportion of links between siblings has already been noticed in the case of household structure: the proportion of such links within households was only 75%.

It is interesting to note that there is, in this case, no difference between the proportion of intra-generational links within households and the same proportion for links within the community as a whole. This seems to imply that, when kinship relations act as a guidance system for mobile households, the links most likely to be activated are those between siblings and not those between children and parents.

The difference between Artois and Tuscany does not seem to be due to unequal mortality quotients but rather to the low status of old people in the mezzadria system. Very high rates of mobility can be observed for old people in Pratolino, together with women and bastards.

The mezzadria was hard on the peasants as an economic system. No advantage arose to the mezzadro from keeping a physically weakened old man or an old woman in a farm already on the verge of economic collapse. The weakest must have been the first to be hit by the system.

The high level of mobility for certain categories - old people, women, bastards - was interpreted as an indication of the weak position of these groups in Tuscan peasant society. Their relative unimportance in the kin-network bears out the case for old people, but things were different with women. Their position in the kin-network was important, although different from that of men.

Women and the kin-network

Male-links will here be defined as links connecting two brothers or a son and his parents. All other links will be grouped in the category others (sister-brother, sister-sister, daughter-parents). All these other links include at least a sister or a daughter. The percentage of male links in the different communities was as follows:

Table 36Links according to sex

	<u>Male links</u>	<u>Other links</u>
Longuenesse	10%	90%
Wisques	11%	89%
Hallines	22%	78%
Pratolino	47%	53%

A random distribution, with a sex ratio of one, would give us a total of 25% of males links for connections between siblings and 50% for connections between two generations. In Artois, only Hallines came close to these proportions. Male links were clearly too few in Longuenesse and Wisques. On the other hand, male links were too numerous in Pratolino. The percentage there should be closer to 25% than to 50% since a majority of the links actually observed were links between siblings.

Pratolino

The relatively small proportion of links through women in Pratolino was certainly a consequence of the conscious emphasis put on patrilocality of residence after marriage by Tuscan peasants. However, this does not mean that links including women were not important: they fulfilled an obvious function: they linked separate households rather than CFUs belonging to the same household as male links did.

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Table 37

Pratolino: Kin-links, male and other, within a household
and between two households

	<u>Same household</u>	<u>Two households</u>
Male	17	1
Other	0	20

Women were always involved in the links connecting together different households (95% of the connections between households included at least a sister or a daughter). They must have been a fundamental element in the kin-network, which made it possible for the peasants to find a vacant podere if they had been dismissed by their landlord. One is led to the conclusion that the instability of the peasant community created by the economic system must in some way have emphasized the role of women. One should conclude from these dry facts that women were considered as different but important.

Kinship density and proportion of male links in Artois

Pratolino was easy to distinguish from the set of communities in Artois: but, between these communities, important differences existed - between Longuenesse and Wisques on the one hand, and Hallines on the other. The proportion of male links was much greater in Hallines (22%) than in Longuenesse (10%) and Wisques (11%). Wisques will be left aside in the commentary because of its small size

and of the resulting random variations. We shall concentrate on the comparison between Hallines and Longuenesse.

Absolute kinship density was much higher in Hallines than in Longuenesse and we can see that the proportion of male links varied in the same direction as absolute kinship density. The higher the absolute kin-density, the greater the proportion of male links in the total number of links. We must return here to the explanation of differential absolute kin-density by geographical mobility. Different patterns of mobility create differences in absolute kin-density indices which would have been equal for all villages in the absence of mobility.

But, as mobility rises, it tends to break a greater proportion of male links. The greater the number of people leaving their village, the greater the proportion of men moving out. The difference in the proportion of male links between Hallines and Longuenesse was due to a difference in the pattern of residence after marriage which was clearly more patrilocal in Hallines than in Longuenesse. The proportion of male links in Hallines was closer to a random distribution, which would imply a perfectly utrilocal pattern of residence after marriage, whereas the proportion of male links was too low in Longuenesse. (Utrilocal = 50% matrilocal, 50% patrilocal.) In Artois, a relatively dense kin-network seems to imply a higher proportion of men in the kin-network.

Kinship network and socio-economic groups

The results and the conclusions reached in the preceding chapter on kinship density, absolute or relative, and on the different types of kinship connections are valid for the numerically dominant part of the population of Hallines, Longuenesse, Wisques and Pratolino, as was the case with geographical mobility. The types of behaviour described above are those of the Artesian Journaliers and Tuscan mezzadri.

It is impossible to obtain significant statistical results at the village level for dominant social groups, even for those resident in the villages, as the big farmers of Artois obviously were, or the few Signori ("Misters") living in Pratolino and recorded by the nominative listings. The calculation of significant indices is impossible for a handful of persons. One characteristic common to Artois and Tuscany nevertheless appears very clearly: no member of the dominant social groups, whether big farmer, vicar, landlord or retired bourgeois in Artois, landlord, vicar or steward in Tuscany, was related in the first degree to the mass of the peasantry. It is impossible to reach definite conclusions on more remote kin-connections. But, as far as the first degree is concerned, the result is unequivocal: socio-economic distinctions coincided perfectly with the groups defined by kinship links. Status and kinship did not overlap. In late 18th century Artois and in early 18th century Tuscany, rural society was stable. The social system - landowners, big farmers and labourers

in Artois; landowners and share-croppers in Tuscany - had long been established. Social mobility, upwards or downwards, must have been relatively unimportant. Now, only social mobility can establish kinship relations which link different socio-economic groups. Let us take the example of two brothers, sons of a middle peasant. If some polarization of the local society is taking place during their life, one might become a big farmer, the other a rural labourer. If we then reconstitute the kinship networks of their community, we find a first degree kinship connection linking two different socio-economic groups - big farmers and labourers. Rural society was changing fairly rapidly in early 19th century Sweden, particularly in Scania:¹ beside the traditional middle peasantry, demographic expansion had created a class of rural labourers. In 18th century Briec also the peasant community was becoming more polarized: one could observe, in that period, the appearance of a class of big - although not very big - peasants; the number of labourers also increased. In these two rural societies - Scania and Brittany - a form of social mobility existed. A number of kinship relations must therefore have existed between the different socio-economic groups, middle peasants and labourers in Arrie and Hörröd, big farmers, middle peasants and labourers in Briec. Unfortunately, this cannot be empirically demonstrated because kinship reconstitution is impossible for these two communities.

¹ Utterström G.O. Jordbrukets arbetare.

An interesting example of a similar process of socio-economic differentiation combined with persisting kinship links and specific social tensions can be found in an article by David Sabeau on Tenure and kinship in Germany in the late Middle Ages.¹

Kinship density in Briec, Arrie and Hörröd: hypotheses

Technical reasons prevent us from carrying out a kinship reconstitution for Briec, Arrie and Hörröd.

The parish of Briec was large, about 2700 inhabitants. It is obviously impossible to reconstitute kin-networks for the whole of the parish: this alone would take more time than the rest of the dissertation. But it is equally impossible to isolate a small section of the parish as we did to study geographical mobility. The nominative listings raise no problem: each chapelry was a clearly defined unit. (However, the parish register) did not distinguish the various chapelries. Baptisms, marriages and burials were recorded according to a strict chronological order for the parish as a whole: this means that, to carry out a reconstitution of kin-networks, we would have to reconstitute the families of the whole parish of Briec. To this must be added the fact that the stock of surnames was rather poor, which makes an estimate of the maximal kin-network difficult.

A kinship reconstitution for early nineteenth century Scania is not impossible theoretically. But because of the

¹ Sabeau (D), Famille et tenure paysanne: aux origines de la guerre des paysans en Allemagne.

high level of geographical mobility, a very large area would have to be covered if we wanted to obtain a sufficiently complete minimal network. This is in fact what Essen-Möller did: he worked on a population of about 2250.¹ But we must remember that the Swedish documentation is by no means as good for the eighteenth century as for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The amount of time and the uncertainty implied by such a reconstitution put it beyond the reach of the present doctoral dissertation.

Tracing the genealogy of an individual recorded in Arrie or Hörröd at a given date seems at first fairly simple. Swedish listings indicate exact dates of birth and not only ages. It is therefore easy to find the baptism entry of any individual born in the parish. However, it is very clear from Table 27.1 on the birth places of spouses present in Arrie in 1818 that a great majority (78%) had not been born in the parish. We would have to look in other villages for the register containing their baptism entry, and this raises another difficulty: ages and dates of births are not as exact for individuals born outside the village as for those who have not left their birth-place.² The reason for this is extremely simple: in the case of individuals born in the very parish, the vicar could immediately check on the date of birth recorded in the baptism register. As a consequence, the genealogies of individuals born outside

¹ Essen-Möller E. Familial interrelatedness in a Swedish rural population.

² I owe this piece of information to Mrs Anna Christina Meurling of the Landsarkivet i Lund.

Arrie are difficult or impossible to find. Therefore, for about $3/4$ of the village husbands and wives we would have to rely on a rough estimate of kin-networks inferred from a simple comparison of surnames. But again, the stock of surnames, and of Christian names (see pages 96-97 on the formation of surnames in Sweden) was not large. Such an estimate would lead to a wide overestimation of the number of kin-connections in the community.

We can nevertheless propose an estimate of the kinship density in Briec, Arrie and Hörröd, thanks to what we know of the relationship between geographical mobility and kinship density. Mobility was high in Briec, Arrie and Hörröd. We do not know whether mobile people did or did not use their networks of kin-relations to find jobs or farms elsewhere. But the high rates of mobility make it quite certain that kinship density in these three communities was not high. It could be medium or low: depending on whether people used their kin-networks to find a farm or a job, as in Pratolino, or on the contrary travelled without any kind of kinship guidance as in Longuenesse. My guess would be that group mobility in Briec implied that kin-networks played a role in geographical movements and that kin-density there was intermediate. On the other hand, in Hörröd and in Arrie particularly individual mobility predominated and kin-density should have been low.

But we also know that the proportion of consanguineous marriages was fairly high in Scania, in spite of the high level of geographical mobility. This implies the existence

of a special attitude towards kinship. No final conclusion concerning kinship density is open to us.

Kinship density and social anthropology

Kinship density is not a concept frequently used by social anthropologists: it seems to put the emphasis on biological kinship whereas according to social anthropology kinship is determined by social usage and not by biology. For a social anthropologist, the number of kinsmen is not the important thing. Kinship must be considered as a system of classification. What is important is the definition and classification of the expected relations between brothers and how these differ from the relations between brothers-in-law. Rights and duties between father and child, as compared to rights and duties between mother's brother and sister's child are also important.

This underlines two of the most important differences between the goals of social anthropology and the more limited purpose of the present essay:

- kinship density as a measure of the number of blood relations in a given area is mainly concerned with biological kinship
- a measure of density does not describe the expected behaviour of the different types of kinsmen.

The second point is absolutely valid. The particular historical technique used in the preceding pages does not make it possible to study kinship relations beyond the first degree of consanguinity and to the social anthropologist

such a narrow range - excluding first cousins, for instance - is quite ridiculous. The refined analyses and comparisons of the father and child relationship on the one hand, and of the mother's brother and sister's child relationship on the other is obviously impossible. The available documentation often makes it necessary to consider all kinship relations as belonging to a single category. Kinship must be considered as a whole, and opposed to other type of social relations - economic relations for instance. When distinctions between several types of kinship relations can be made they are not likely to fit in with the classification familiar to the social anthropologist. This applies, for instance, to the distinction between the male and the female sides of the lineage, or between parent-child and sibling-sibling relationship. However, there is no a-priori reason why this less sophisticated classification should be rejected: we have seen that the male-female link categories lead to very clear and significant results in the study of the kin-networks in Pratolino.

The first point, however, - the idea that kinship density is mainly concerned with biological relations - is an oversimplification. The number of kinship relations in a given community - kinship relations as determined by blood, by biology - is not a simple and direct consequence of reproduction rates. It is for a large part determined by the pattern of geographical mobility in the local community. In fact, kinship density measures the tendency of related individuals to remain grouped in a parish, or to move as a

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group, or as individuals, between several parishes. This tendency to spread or not to spread is closely dependent on the roles kin-related individuals are expected to play. A great deal of mutual help between kinsmen - strong interaction - is likely to be reflected in a higher kinship density than would otherwise be the case. Kinship density is a crude index but not a meaningless index altogether. The last chapter tries to go a little deeper in the study and measurement of real attitudes: exchanges of godparents between kinsmen and between social groups are a revealing source of social interconnections.

CHAPTER VI

GODPARENTS

We have tried to discover the nature of the relations between kinsmen through an objective description of networks and geographical mobility. The results already presented were deduced from the relative position and movements in space of individuals - relative to the house or to the village. A more detailed analysis of attitudes and feelings among kinsmen can be derived from a study of choice of godparents. Exchanges of godfathers and godmothers describe with greater subtlety the social relations between the peasants.

In the case of Pratolino, a detailed study of attitudes (as described by choice of godparents) was not necessary to reach definite conclusions on the importance of kinship: patterns of mobility were revealing enough. But no final conclusion could be obtained for Wisques, Hallines and Longuenesse. Although an analysis of the types of godparents chosen at christenings cannot give us a final answer concerning the difference in absolute kin-density between the three Artesian villages, it does put us in a better position to evaluate the part played by kinship in village life. It makes it possible to investigate - to some extent - the influence of kin-density on attitudes towards kin.

This study of godparents offers a major advantage: it can be done for all villages, Briec, Arrie and Hörröd included. However, relations between kinsmen can be studied

in Artois, Brittany and Tuscany but not in Scania. Baptism entries yield no information on possible kinship relations between parents and godparents in Arrie and Hörröd but they tell us a great deal about the relationship between the social classes which composed these communities.

Godparentage was - and still is in many peasant communities - a complex institution. I shall not insist on its religious and theoretical meaning, but simply use it as a description of social relations between individuals.¹

A baptism can establish three types of social links: between the child's parents and its godparents; between the child and its godparents; and between the two co-godparents (if there are two godparents). I have concentrated on the relationship between parents and godparents. Further research could yield useful information on the relations between co-godparents. For technical reasons, it is impossible to study the relationship between the godparents and their growing-up godsons and goddaughters.

What was the real importance of the relationship between parents and godparents, and between godparents and god-children? Canon Law tells us that godparents should take care of the spiritual and material well-being of their

¹ On the religious and theoretical meaning of the institution, see: Gudeman (S), The compadrazgo as a reflection of the natural and spiritual person. This essay is mostly concerned with the compadrazgo in Catholic regions (with a few exceptions) mostly located in Latin America and Southern Europe. Its conclusions cannot be applied to my sample, mainly composed of North Western European communities, with the exception of Pratolino. But the history of Church legislation on godparenthood in Gudeman's article is relevant.

godchild, but it is impossible to know whether these recommendations were actually applied. The parish registers only give us the identity of the godparents. We can discover what sorts of people were chosen and compare them to the child's parents. One can tell- in most cases - whether the godfather and godmother were richer than the parents, or poorer, or belonged to the same socio-economic stratum, whether they were younger or older; we can often tell if a kinship relation existed between godparents and godchild.

Beside giving useful information on the importance of kinship and on the relations between socio-economic groups, these results reveal much of the exact social and religious significance of the institution.

Choice of godparents is obviously a crude index, but it is the only one to cover whole communities without discriminating between poor and rich peasants. All of them produced children and had them christened. The crudeness of indications does not prevent choice of godparents from being extensively used by contemporary sociologists. One can give the example of the classic study by Willmott and Young on Family and kinship in East London. In Bethnal Green, a fairly kin-network was combined with the frequent selection of closely related godparents.¹

¹ Willmott (P) and Young (M), Family and kinship in East London, pp. 84-85.

Typology

The typology used to classify the different kinds of choice of godparents makes the following distinctions:

- 1/ A distinction between related and unrelated godparents
- 2/ A distinction between godparents belonging to the same socio-economic group as the parents, and godparents located higher or lower on the social scale. The former corresponds to what N.W. Mogensen calls horizontal relations, the latter to vertical relations.¹
- 3/ Servants are considered as a special category. Their socio-economic status was usually fairly close to that of labourers - as labourers' children - but they did not represent a complete household when chosen as godparents.
- 4/ Outsiders, whatever their socio-economic status, are lumped together in a category of their own. It is often difficult to know the exact status of individuals chosen as godparents but not recorded on the nominative listings. It is particularly difficult to tell whether an individual coming from another parish was related to the child's parents.

Once combined, these four categories produce a six category classification:

Types of choice

- A) Within the community:
 - 1) Kin and vertical
 - 2) Kin and horizontal
 - 3) Non-kin and vertical

¹ Mogensen, Aspects de la société Augeronne aux XVII et XVIII^e siècles. Typescript.

- 4) Non-kin and horizontal
 5) Servants
 B) Outsiders

Table 38 presents a general distribution of godparents in the three villages of Artois, in Pratolino and Briec. The results concerning Arrie and Hörröd which provide no information on kinship will be given in a separate tabulation.

Table 38

		ARTOIS			TUSCANY	BRITTANY
		<u>Longuenesse</u>	<u>Wisques</u>	<u>Hallines</u>	<u>Pratolino</u>	<u>Briec</u>
<hr/>						
A) <u>Within the community</u>						
Total	87%	81%	69%	(52%)	60%	
1) Kin & vertical	-	-	-	-	24% kin	
2) Kin & horizontal	5%	10%	23%	11%		
3) Non-kin, vert.	16%	18%	12%	2%	36% non-	
4) Non-kin horiz.	51%	37%	30%	40%	kin	
5) Servants	13%	10%	4%	-	4%	
<hr/>						
B) 6) Outsiders	13%	19%	31%	48%	40%	
<hr/>						

Kinship and hierarchy

Not a single "kin and vertical" godparent appears on the relevant line of table 38 for the three villages in Artois and for Pratolino. This simply reflects the fact that, in

these communities, first degree kinship relations did not exist between individuals belonging to different socio-economic strata.¹

This type of godparent might have existed in Brittany and Scania. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact status distribution for Briec, and we have no information on kinship for Arrie and Hörröd. This question must therefore be left unanswered.

Kin and neighbours

The percentages of godparents chosen among kin range from 5% to 24% ~~in~~ our sample of pre-industrial communities. Again Pratolino does not appear as belonging to a distinct category: the proportion of godparents related to the child's parents was almost the same in Wisques and Pratolino: 11% and 10% respectively.

Wisques represents an average between Longuenesse and Hallines (5% and 23%) but it will be left aside as too likely to be affected by random variations. The resemblance between Artois and Pratolino is only superficial: a more detailed analysis brings out importance differences.

Artois

Godparents belonging to close kin (first degree) were more frequently chosen in Hallines than in Longuenesse. Relative kin-density was the same in both communities and the difference cannot be attributed to different proportions

¹ See above, p.256, Kinship networks and socio-economic groups.

of kin-related individuals in the two populations. Perfectly random choices of godparents in the community should generate proportions of kin-godparents approximately equal to relative kin-density. The proportion of related godparents, if determined at random, would have been 3.3% for Longuenesse and 3.5% for Hallines. By comparing the actual proportion and the expected proportion we can obtain a propensity to choose related godparents. (Proportion of kin-godparents / Relative kin-density.)

The propensity to choose related godparents was:

1.5 in Longuenesse

2.8 in Wisques

6.5 in Hallines.

A propensity below one would be really astonishing and would in fact mean that the population was deliberately avoiding to choose kinsmen as godparents. But we must consider that Longuenesse was not very far from this situation: there seems to have been no strong preference for kin-godparents. The situation was very different in Hallines where choice of godparents among close kin was obviously preferred.

What explanation can we find to these differences?

One can remark that the proportions of kin-godparents varied in the same direction as absolute kinship density. Behaviour seems to have been more influenced by the absolute number of kinsmen than by the proportion of kinsmen in the population (See: Table 39).

Another variable confirms this result: the number of kinship links connecting neighbouring households. Such a kin-connection was probably more effective than a simple link between two households situated at both ends of the village. Propinquity (as it has been called earlier in this essay) is an intermediate degree between co-residence and living in the same village. It is a situation recalling the predominant pattern found by Willmott and Young in Bethnal Green where people did not want to live with their kin but near them.¹ The proportion of kinship links with propinquity was 20% in Hallines, and 14% in Longuenesse.²

Propinquity, like choice of godparents, seems to have been influenced by absolute kinship density rather than by relative kinship density. This is an important result: relative kinship density was probably meaningless to 18th century Artesian peasants. The equalization of kinship densities noted for Wisques, Hallines and Longuenesse cannot have been therefore a consciously attained result. If it was not due to chance alone, it was a mechanical effect of exogamy which must be considered as an independent variable. However, it is impossible to solve the problem posed by the two different explanations presented in Chapter 5: we still do not know whether or not exogamy was a completely independent variable, or whether it was connected with land-ownership. Did differences in absolute kin-density

¹ Willmott and Young, Family and kinship in East London, pp. 86-88.

² Relative kin-densities being equal, these percentages of kinship links with propinquity are significant: the difference is not due to a greater "proportion of kin" in Hallines.

between villages depend on the number of peasant owners or on the size of the villages?

One conclusion is safe: the kin-network, as we have defined it, was not consciously formed and organized by Artesian peasants, but once it was formed, its density - its absolute density - had a clear influence on attitudes towards kin.

Table 39

Absolute and relative kin-density, choice of godparents, and propinquity in Artois

	<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Related</u>	
	<u>kin-density</u>	<u>kin-density</u>	<u>godparents</u>	<u>propinquity</u>
Hallines	1.73	3.5%	23%	20%
Longuenesse	1.36	3.3%	5%	14%
Wisques	0.77	3.5%	10%	12%

Tuscany

Only 11% of the total number of godparents were chosen among close kin in Pratolino. These figures do not necessarily imply that kinship was unimportant to mezzadri. Such an interpretation would contradict the conclusions reached in the previous chapters on the relations between kinship and mobility.

The percentage of 11% includes only related godparents living in Pratolino. The number of outsiders chosen as godparents was very high in Pratolino as compared to the

proportions obtained for Hallines, Wisques and Longuenesse.

- 48% of the godparents were outsiders in Pratolino
- 31% in Hallines
- 19% in Wisques
- 13% in Longuenesse.

The percentage of 48 obtained for Pratolino is itself an under-estimation of the total amount of exchange of godparents between parishes in Tuscany. A number of parents preferred to have their children baptized in parishes other than their own. The villagers of Longuenesse, Hallines and Wisques had no right to baptize their children in places other than their parish of birth, but it must be noted that the settlement pattern in Artois did not provide an encouragement to do so: the parish church stood clearly in the middle of a nucleated village. Such was not the case in Tuscany where the location of farms was independent of parish churches.

It is possible to estimate that about 30% of all children born in Pratolino were baptized elsewhere. No baptism entry can be found for 30% of children below one year of age appearing on a listing and whose family was living in the parish the year before. If we combine this percentage of 30 with the 48% of godparents coming from outside, assuming that all children baptized out of their village of birth had godparents from other parishes, the total number of godparents chosen in parishes other than Pratolino goes up to 60%.

A large proportion of these godparents from other

parishes were related to the child's parents. Not all of them: one could probably find a number of ex-neighbours and people belonging to upper socio-economic strata. It is very difficult to make a clear distinction between the different types of godparents when they come from other villages; it is impossible to do so when we simply guess that parents chose godparents out of their own village because no baptism entry appears in the parish register. But it is reasonable to consider that many of the godparents from outside were kin to the child's parents.

In Hallines, the number of outsiders chosen was much greater than in Longuenesse and Wisques, (Hallines 31%, Longuenesse 13%, Wisques 19%). These godparents were mostly kin.

An increase in the number of godparents from outside seems to imply an increase in the number of related godparents. Only the kinship networks could bring about such a marked circulation of godparents as in Pratolino under conditions where it was difficult to maintain the permanence of relationships with friends living at a distance. Neither friendship nor vertical relations can explain a figure as high as 60%.

In the following pages, it will be shown that choice of godparents from among the upper strata of society was a very marginal phenomenon in Pratolino. Very few "Misters" (Signori) appear as godparents in the parish register of San Cresci a Macioli.

Choice of godparents out of Pratolino seems to show that people desired to keep in touch with relatives and

with other persons living at a distance, to keep alive a number of relationships which might one day prove useful. Kin living at a distance were preferred: this is demonstrated by the comparatively small number of related godparents chosen in the parish of Pratolino itself. (11% as opposed to 60% of outsiders). Of these 11%, one half belonged to the child's households: 5% of the total number of godparents. This seems a very small proportion, if one remembers the large number of available kinsmen living in the multiple family households of Pratolino. When a mezzadro decided to choose a related individual as godparent for his child, he avoided eligible individuals living on his podere. This shows that the association of nuclear families in complex households was imposed by the agrarian system rather than considered as an ideal situation by the peasants themselves. One could maintain that relations between co-resident kin did not need to be "activated" or consciously emphasized. Co-residence was enough. However, a recent study of a contemporary (1971) peasant community in the Jura mountains, where kinship is a fundamental element in the organization of the community - composed of peasants owning their land - shows that godparents there often belong to the child's household. Land-owning peasants thus insist on the continuity of the lineage on a particular farm. To do this, the ideal godfather is the child's grandfather.¹ In Pratolino, there was almost no peasant property. There was the prospect of an inevitable dismissal

¹ Dion (M) and Dion-Salitot (M), La crise d'une société villa-geoise, p. 177.

by the landlord as debts increased regularly. This explains why mezzadri tried to keep in touch with relatives living at a distance. Christenings provided a good opportunity for doing this.

There was no need to activate kin-relations with individuals living in distant villages in Artois: families there were stationary after marriage. As a consequence, relatively small numbers of godparents were chosen outside the community. A large majority of godparents belonged to the child's village: 87% in Longuenesse, 81% in Wisques and 69% in Hallines.

Hierarchy

Choice of godparents throws some light on the relations between dominated peasants, journaliers and mezzadri, and dominant social categories, big farmers and landlords in Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines, and landlords and their stewards in Pratolino.

We find Hallines, Longuenesse and Wisques in the same category. The proportion of godparents coming from groups situated above labourers on the social scale was about the same in the three villages: 12%, 16% and 13%.

This common situation in the three Artesian communities reflects the basic unity of the socio-economic system described as capitalist farming in the introduction. It is interesting to note that local variants determined by the amount of land owned by labourers did not affect the relationship between labourers and big farmers, as reflected by exchanges of

godparents between the two groups. Small land-ownership perhaps had some effect on kinship relations between labourers, but certainly had no influence on the fundamental division of rural society between employers and employees. In Hallines and Wisques which were not (like Longuenesse) ecclesiastical seigneuries, landlords - whether resident or absentee - played a very minor part as godparents as compared to big farmers.

Proportions of 12 or 16% of vertical relations seem high when compared to the figure of 2% in Pratolino. The difference is mainly due to the absence of a social category in Pratolino: there was no equivalent there to the big farmers of Artois. If vertical relations between labourers and farmers in Wisques, Hallines and Longuenesse are eliminated, the proportion of vertical relations left comes very close to the figure of 2% obtained for Pratolino.

The weakness of the relationship between share-cropper and landlord in Pratolino is demonstrated by the absence of exchanges of godparents between the two groups. This lack of a relationship other than economic, combined with the instability of the mezzadri on their farms, may be taken as an answer to the questions raised by 19th century Tuscan polemicists as to whether or not the relationship between mezzadro and landlord was one of close co-operation with a touch of paternalism, or one of mere economic exploitation of the share-cropper by his landlord. Some historians, critical of the mezzadria system, insist on the very strict control exerted by the landlord on the daily life of the

mezzadro, on the composition and behaviour of the peasant family. This does not tally with the pattern of mutual avoidance revealed by choices of godparents. An absentee landlord could not have exerted such close control over multiple family households living on isolated farmsteads for relatively short periods of time.¹

The role of wealthy farmers as the directly minority of rural communities in Northern France during the Revolution has been emphasized by most historians.² The relatively high proportion of vertical relations in Artois, as compared to Pratolino, and the fact that labourers in Artois were not compelled to move once every five or ten years after their marriage confirm that the relationship between labourers and big farmers must have been fairly good.

However, the intensity of interaction between the two groups should not be overestimated. The figures for Tuscany and Artois can already be compared to those obtained by Mogensen for a part of Normandy. The level of interaction between small and big peasants in Normandy was much higher than in Artois. Poor peasants in the Pays d'Auge - a part of Normandy - chose 46% of their godparents from among the group of wealthy peasants. This is more than three times as high as the proportion of vertical relations in Artois. But a more sophisticated technique of analysis of vertical relations will be presented when we come to the case of Scania.

¹ Pazzagli (C), L'agricoltura toscana nella prima meta dell' 800, pp. 409-410, 413-414.

² Lefebvre (G), Les paysans du Nord.

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A statistical analysis of choice of godparents by individuals belonging to the dominant social groups of our village communities is unobtainable. There are too few of them. Only for the big farmers of Artois can a precise impression be gained, but a complete distribution of godparents for only five families would be meaningless. Wealthy farmers chose godparents among their kin, usually from outside their own villages because they rarely had relatives in the parish. Most of these relatives were big farmers living in other villages. Again we find a correspondence between kinship networks and choice of godparent outside the village. Big peasants in Artois were linked by a complex network of kin-connections, and these were often "activated".

The study of the few cases of marriage found in Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines and concerning farmers show that their marriage system did not follow the pattern usually found among labourers but that matches were arranged at a distance between families. In these cases, marriage involved the transmission of some property which was not so with labourers and mezzadri. This indicates that the life of farmers was not limited to the village community.

Macfarlane in the Family life of Ralph Josselin shows that certain relatives often came from fairly distant places in order to be godparents and to help the family at times of birth.¹ But Ralph Josselin was a vicar and a yeoman, and the custom was probably different for English labourers or French journaliers. Only in the village of Hallines did

¹ Macfarlane A. The family life of Ralph Josselin, Chapter 8 "Other kinship ties".

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a substantial proportion of godparents come from other villages. But an important factor in the high proportion of outside godparents was the proximity of the neighbouring village of Wizernes.

On the other hand, the pattern found for a 17th century English yeoman-clergyman might apply rather well to big farmers in Northern France. These had many points in common with yeomen. It also applies - but for very different reasons - to Tuscan mezzadri.

Brittany

Briec appears as an intermediate case between Longuenesse and Pratolino.

The proportion of outsiders chosen as godparents was higher than in Artois but clearly lower than in Tuscany. In Briec, 60% of all godfathers and godmothers belonged to the community, as against 69% in Hallines, 81% in Wisques, 87% in Longuenesse and only 40% in Pratolino (corrected number).

The percentage of godparents related to the child also places Briec (24%) between Longuenesse (5%) and Pratolino (11% plus a large proportion of outsiders). The proportion is almost the same in Briec (24%) and in Hallines (23%). Wisques on the other hand is closer to Longuenesse: 10% and 5% respectively.

We can calculate an average proportion representing the three villages of Hallines, Wisques and Longuenesse. The resulting percentage of related godparents is close to

12%.¹ If we suppose that our villages are truly representative, we can classify provinces instead of communities: Brittany then appears as clearly intermediate between Artois and Tuscany.

What conclusions can be drawn from these figures? It seems that the rather large numbers of kinsmen and outsiders chosen as godparents in Briec should be connected - as was the case with Pratolino - with insecurity of tenure. People had to keep in touch with kinsmen living outside their own community, who might one day be useful in helping them to find a farm and another landlord. However, we must remember that households were less mobile in Briec than in Pratolino. Only simple family households moved in and out of the community in Brittany, complex family households (extended or multiple) being on the contrary almost perfectly stable. This could account for the lower level of godparent mobility in Briec: it seems that the stable households linking three generations did not insist as much as the less stable nuclear families on finding godparents outside the local community. Three-generation households often chose godparents among their own members. In this case, we find an insistance on the continuity and the independence of the peasant family. In Briec, 10% of all children had godparents belonging to their own household, against 5% in pratolino, in spite of the fact that complex households were much bigger and more numerous in the latter parish.

¹ $\frac{5\% + 10\% + 23\%}{3} = 12.5\%$

It must be remembered that the settlement pattern, although scattered in both cases, was not exactly the same in Briec and Pratolino. The unit of settlement was the podere - an isolated farmstead - in Tuscany, but a hamlet composed of several houses or farms in Brittany. In Briec, a fairly large proportion of godfathers and godmothers lived in the same hamlet as the child. Table 40 presents a detailed distribution of godparents according to geographical origin.

Table 40

Geographical origin of godparents in Briec

Same household as the child :	10%
Same hamlet as the child :	15%
Same chapelry (<u>trêve</u>) :	35% (equivalent of a parish elsewhere)
<hr/>	
<u>Total neighbours</u> :	60%

The three examples of Artois, Tuscany and Brittany lead us to the conclusion that the importance of kinsmen and outsiders at christenings was often connected with the mobility pattern of households. Insecurity of tenure must have been an incentive to a frequent reactivation of kinship networks beyond the boundaries of the local community.

Age and marital status of godparents

Significant differences appear between the various communities. Meaningful averages can be calculated for

Longuenesse, Wisques and Briec: for these three communities two clearly distinct patterns emerge.

Table 41

Average age of godparents in Longuenesse, Wisques and Briec

	<u>Longuenesse plus Wisques</u>	<u>Briec</u>
<u>Mean age</u>		
Men	26.5	33.5
Women	24	30.5

In Artois, the average age of godparents (at the time of christening) was clearly below the mean age at marriage, in Brittany clearly above. A large majority of the godparents, whether male or female, were single men and women in Wisques and Longuenesse. On the contrary, in Briec, married and widowed persons predominated.

In Artois, where the social and economic significance of godparentage was probably unimportant, young people were chosen. They did not belong to the same generation as the parents of the child. They might one day be in a position to help their godson or goddaughter, but they could not be of any use to the parents of the child; in many cases, they were servants and as such did not even spend a very long time in the village. In this case, it seems that the parent-godparent tie does not try to establish a formal relationship between two households.

In Brittany on the contrary, a relationship was established between two married persons, between two households.

The ideal godparent seems to have been a male head of household and/or his wife. A preference for young heads of households (35-40) can be noted which implies that parents and godparents often belonged to the same generation. Not very many servants were chosen.

The persons chosen as godparents in Briec had a fully adult status whereas in Longuenesse and Wisques they were highly mobile young people. This implies a difference in the social significance of godparentage ~~as an institution~~ in the two communities. It seems that in Briec the emphasis was put on the relationship between the parents and the godparents, who belonged to the same generation. In Longuenesse and Wisques, on the other hand, the relationship between godparent and godchild must have been more important. Godparents were younger than parents.

Both patterns seem perfectly functional if each is replaced into its general social context.

In Brittany, people chose "useful" godparents, adult godparents. In Artois, people chose young people because the institution as a whole had few socio-economic implications.

Table 42

Proportion of servants

	<u>in the population</u>	<u>among godparents</u>
Longuenesse	13%	13%
Wisques	13%	10%
Hallines (unknown underregistration of servants in the listings)		
Briec	13.5%	4%

The great importance of kinship in Brittany is confirmed by evidence derived from other sources. Thanks to the work of J. Sutter and L. Tabah, we have rates of consanguinity for all French counties (départements), although these rates concern the much later period of the first half of the twentieth century (1926-1945).¹

The coincidence of two types of results for Brittany - proportion of consanguineous marriages and proportion of kinsmen among godparents - is nevertheless striking. Both kinds of results can be considered as consequences of general attitudes towards kinship. Generally, an emphasis on kinship as a principle of social organization seems to produce a large number of consanguineous marriages and a large proportion of kinsmen among godparents. Corsica, famous for her kinship-based vendetta, is the most typical case with the highest rate of consanguinity in France. Brittany, where kinsmen seem to have been numerous among godparents, was one of the French regions where consanguinity was at a high level between 1926 and 1945.²

¹ Sutter J. and Tabah L. Fréquence et répartition des mariages consanguins en France, Population oct-déc 1948.

² Proportions of consanguineous marriages: Finistère (Brittany, includes Briec): 3.37%, Pas-de-Calais (Artois, includes Longuenesse): 1.60%, Corse: 6.75%.

Breton peasant society changed a great deal between 1770 and 1926, and the coincidence of the two types of index cannot be considered as really significant. We can suppose that economic conditions altered considerably between the two dates. But it seems reasonable to assume that the importance of kinship in the second quarter of the twentieth century (as reflected by a large number of consanguineous marriages) was in part due to the persistence of traditional attitudes towards kinship. An emphasis on kinship, even if produced by specific economic circumstances (here instability of tenure), can outlive these economic conditions. Attitudes towards kinship must have a measure of independence, in the form of tradition and habits.

Other factors might have produced a large number of consanguineous marriages; a low rate of geographical mobility, for instance, makes it difficult for peasants to find an unrelated marriage partner.¹ But Breton traditions concerning kinship are well known, although the enormous marriage banquets they produce are less spectacular than the Corsican vendetta.

Godparentage in Scania

Swedish parish registers usually give the names and occupations of godparents and witnesses for every baptism. The information on godparentage is therefore richer in some respects for Hörröd and Arrie than for Briec. It is very

¹ On consanguinity and geographical mobility see chapter 3 pages 138-140

easy to establish a distribution into vertical and horizontal relationships when baptism entries record occupations.

Let us note also that the places of residence of godparents and witnesses are recorded in the parish registers of Arrie and Hörröd. We do not have to go back to the listings to know whether they belonged to the village community.

However, the data on "kin-relationships" is poorer in Hörröd and Arrie than in Briec. No kinship reconstitution was possible and as the baptism entries do not indicate possible kin-relations between parents and godparents we would have to rely on crude estimates deduced from a simple comparison of surnames.

Such a device was acceptable in the case of Briec. But Sweden, with its special naming system, does not provide a sufficient variety of surnames: one cannot assume that two individuals bearing the same surname were actually related.¹ We had to use an approximation of this type for the study of household structure, but the purpose was then a critical one: it was necessary to prove that the proportion of extended family households revealed by explicitly recorded kin-relations was unreliable. In the present case, very uncertain results would have to be presented as positive and final.

Let us first remark that in Scania we find godparents and witnesses. Every baptism entry ends with an impressive

¹ See: Chapter 2.

list of names. In France and Italy, only two names - those of the godfather and godmother - were recorded. In the following analysis, all godparents and witnesses have been lumped together as a single category: this careless procedure does not prevent us from reaching significant results.

It can already be noted that the average number of godparents and witnesses per baptism was much greater in Arrie than in Hörröd: 5.4 names per entry against 3.7. If we leave the minimal two godparents aside, we obtain 3.4 witnesses for every child in Arrie and only 1.7 in Hörröd. We can already assume that baptism was a more serious affair in Arrie than in Hörröd.

Relations with other communities

The proportion of godparents coming from other communities can be obtained for all the parishes studied in this essay. Table 43 gives these percentages for all the communities.

Table 43

Godparents residing outside

<u>Scania</u> (Sweden)	Hörröd	30%
	Arrie	33%
<u>Artois</u> (France)	Longuenesse	13%
	Wisques	19%
	Hallines	31%
<u>Brittany</u> (France)	Briec	40%
<u>Tuscany</u> (Italy)	Pratolino	48-60%

The proportions for Arrie and Hörröd reveal an intermediate position: about 30% of all godparents were chosen outside the community.¹ This was clearly higher than the 13% and 19% obtained for Longuenesse and Wisques but lower than the 40% for Briec and 48-60% in Pratolino. Arrie and Hörröd are very similar to Hallines as far as the proportion of outside godparents is concerned. Let us compare in greater detail Scania and Artois where the patterns of geographical mobility were fairly similar. Longuenesse combined a fairly high rate of servant mobility with an extremely low proportion of godparents chosen outside the community. The argument put forward to explain that situation was as follows: the stability of labourers after marriage made it unnecessary for them to keep in touch with kinsmen and friends in other communities. It was noted that only big farmers chose godparents for their children beyond the parish boundaries. In Hallines, the proximity of the nearest villages was sufficient to explain the higher proportion of godparents chosen outside.

¹ It must be borne in mind that Hörröd was a much bigger parish than Arrie, Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines. This could lead to an underestimation of the amount of geographical mobility induced by baptisms (see above, geographical mobility, p. 151). In fact, as in the case of Briec, I have broken the parish of Hörröd - composed of several settlements - into smaller units. I have defined two contiguous territories comprising about 300 inhabitants each; godparents chosen in one territory by parents living in the other territory are counted as "outside godparents", and vice-versa. The percentage obtained for Hörröd can therefore be directly compared ~~with~~ the others.

In Hörröd and Arrie, the pattern of mobility was the same: stability after marriage. But we can observe a larger proportion of outside godparents. Why?

The number of farmers was much greater in Hörröd and Arrie than in Longuenesse: 22 and 36 against 5. If these had a strong propensity to establish close networks of relationships beyond parish boundaries, it would be normal to find a larger proportion of outside godparents in Arrie and Hörröd where farmers were more numerous.

However, there was in fact little or no difference between the places of residence of godparents chosen by labourers and farmers in Scania.

Table 44

Godparents chosen outside the community: labourers and farmers

<u>Arrie</u>	farmers	37%
	Labourers	30%
<u>Hörröd</u>	Farmers	30%
	Labourers	37%

No simple socio-economic factor explains the difference between Arrie and Hörröd on the one hand, Longuenesse on the other. One should remember, however, that the population was more mobile in Arrie than in Longuenesse. In the plains of Scania, the very intense geographical mobility was determined only in part by socio-economic variables.

The relations between farmers and labourers

It is clear from the examples of Longuenesse and Pratolino that the proportion of vertical relations depends in a large measure on the existence or non-existence of several groups within the peasant class. In Pratolino, where no substantial group other than the mezzadri could be found, the proportion of vertical relations was very low, close to 2%. On the other hand, in Longuenesse, where a minority of wealthy farmers existed, the proportion went up to 16%.

Scania leads us one step further: farmers there were almost as numerous as labourers and without any measurement, we can safely guess that the proportion of vertical relations was high. A simple and direct comparison does not reveal much of the nature of the relationship between farmers and labourers. Table 45 presents a distribution of vertical and horizontal choices between farmers and labourers only, in Hörröd, Arrie, Longuenesse, (godparents chosen among servants and social categories other than labourers or farmers are left aside). And as a matter of course, vertical relations strike us as fairly numerous in Arrie and Hörröd, although a clear difference between the two communities is evident.

Table 45

Vertical and horizontal choice: farmers and labourers only

	<u>Vertical</u>	<u>Horizontal</u>
Longuenesse	21%	79%
Arrie	17%	83%
Hörröd	34%	66%

However, it is surprising to see that the proportion of vertical choices (labourers choosing farmers as godparents or farmers choosing labourers) was lower in Arrie where 20 farmers lived (in 1820) than in Longuenesse where only 4 farmers could be found (in 1780).

The only correct technique of comparison, if we want to study the relationship between farmers and labourers in any community, consists in comparing the proportions of vertical and horizontal relations actually observed with the theoretical proportions obtained by a random selection of godparents not taking socio-economic differences into account. Only thus will it be possible to study the existence of patterns of preference or avoidance between farmers and labourers.

Let us first give a simple example: a community is composed of 10 households belonging to a high-status group, and of 90 households belonging to a low-status group (high-status households make up 10% of the population, low-status households 90%). If every household chooses 1 godparent without taking into account the status-groups, we can observe

the following distribution:

1) High-status households

1 chooses a godparent belonging to a high-status household = 1 horizontal relation.

9 choose a godparent belonging to a low-status household = 9 vertical choices.

In 90% of all cases, a low-status godparent is chosen, because low-status godparents represent 90% of the available population of potential godparents.

2) Low-status households

9 choose a godparent belonging to a high-status household = 9 vertical relations.

81 choose a godparent belonging to a low-status household = 81 horizontal relations.

In 10% of all cases, a high status godparent is chosen because high status godparents represent 10% of the available population of potential godparents.

Total number of vertical choices : 18 = 18%

Total number of horizontal choices : 82 = 82% ¹

When the actually observed proportion deviates significantly from this theoretical distribution, we can assume the existence of a pattern of avoidance or preference. A chi-square test will decide on the significance or non-significance of the

¹ General formulae giving the proportion of expected (randomly distributed) vertical and horizontal choices as a function of the number of farmers and labourers (or high-status and low-status groups):

Let F be the number of farmers
Let L be the number of labourers

$$\text{Proportion of vertical relations} = \frac{2 F \cdot L}{(F + L)^2}$$

$$\text{Proportion of horizontal relations} = \frac{F^2 + L^2}{(F + L)^2}$$

divergence between the actual and the theoretical distributions.

Table 46 presents these actual and theoretical distributions for Longuenesse, Arrie, Hörröd and Hallines.

Table 46

Significant value of χ^2 : 3.84

1 degree of freedom

5% level of confidence

1) Longuenesse: 4 farmers, 40 labourers

Distributions

	Actual	Theoretical	
Horizontal	79%	83%	Total number of cases: 55
Vertical	21%	17%	$\chi^2 = 0.59$
			<u>Not significant</u>

2) Arrie: 20 farmers, 20 labourers

Distributions

	Actual	Theoretical	
Horizontal	83%	50%	Total number of cases: 71
Vertical	17%	50%	$\chi^2 = 31.10$
			<u>Significant</u>

3) Hörröd: 37 farmers, 71 labourers

Distributions

	Actual	Theoretical	
Horizontal	66%	55%	Total number of cases: 49
Vertical	34%	45%	$\chi^2 = 2.06$
			<u>Not significant</u>

4) Hallines: 4 farmers, 35 labourers

Distributions

	Actual	Theoretical	Total number of cases: 95
Horizontal	81.5%	82%	$\chi^2 = 0.018$
Vertical	18.5%	18%	
			<u>Not significant</u>

Only in Arrie do we find a significant divergence between the theoretical and the actual proportions of vertical relations.

This means that in Hallines, Longuenesse and Hörröd, the relationship between farmers and labourers was fairly good. On the other hand, in Arrie, where the actual proportion of vertical choice was significantly lower than expected, a pattern of avoidance existed.

The clear difference between Arrie and Hörröd fits in well with the socio-economic models presented in the introduction: agrarian differentiation was more advanced and wealth more unequally distributed in Arrie than in Hörröd. The gap between farmers and labourers must have been wider in the rich plains of Scania than in the hills, and choice of godparents reflects two different types of relationship between these social groups. In Arrie, people seem to have emphasized the difference between the two groups; in Hörröd, on the contrary, they seem not to have paid attention to it.

It might be asked why no pattern of avoidance existed in Hallines and Longuenesse where the gap between labourers and farmers was even wider than in Arrie. In fact, the gap

there was so wide that no special emphasis was necessary to maintain an acceptable social distance between farmers and labourers. It is because agrarian differentiation was recent in Arrie, and not very marked as compared to the polarization characteristic of regions like Northern France or England, that farmers had to emphasize the social gap between the labourers and themselves.¹

Table 47

General distribution of godparents in Arrie and Hörröd

Absolute numbers

1) Hörröd (1821-1823)

<u>Father</u>	<u>Godparents and witnesses</u>				
	Farmer	Labourer	Servant	Other	Total
Farmer	24	10	40	3	
Labourer	23	27	55	8	
Other	13	10	15	2	
	60	47	120	13	240

¹ On the chronology of agrarian change in Sweden, see: Utterström (G), Jordbrukets arbetare...

2) Arrie (1817-1823)

<u>Father</u>	<u>Godparents and witnesses</u>				
	Farmer	Labourer	Servant	Other	Total
Farmer	93	7	24	21	
Labourer	21	42	21	24	
Other	22	6	24	18	
	136	55	69	63	323

The fairly close relationship between farmers and labourers in Hörröd does not mean that no status difference at all existed in the community. Table 47 shows that vertical relations were not symmetrical: labourers often chose a farmer or his wife as godparent for their child, and these accepted, but the opposite situation was less frequent. Farmers tended not to choose a labourer as godfather. There was an element of patronage in the system as a whole, but no pattern of avoidance as in Arrie.

The part played by servants at christenings confirms these results. Although servants were much more numerous in the population as a whole in Arrie than in Hörröd, the proportion of servants among godparents and witnesses was much smaller in the first community.

Table 48

	% of servants in the population	% of servants among godparents and witnesses
Arrie	20%	21%
Hörröd	12.5%	50%

In Hörröd, as in Longuenesse, young people were very often chosen. The case of Arrie reminds us of Briec where married and adult persons were predominant. We had already deduced from the average number of witnesses per baptism that the ceremony was a more important institution in the plain than in the poorer regions of the hills. This difference in matrimonial status confirms that two opposite patterns existed.

In Arrie, a rich and polarized community, status and relations between families played a major part, and farmers therefore avoided labourers.

In Hörröd, a poor and less differentiated society, status was not as important. Young people, servants, were considered as acceptable godfathers or godmothers, as there was no need to establish formal relationships between families. Farmers did not avoid labourers, although status distinctions were not absent from the community.

These conclusions on the position of servants in Arrie and Hörröd fit in well with the model proposed by Löfgren:

"Superficially, the institution of servants may have seemed the same in a 17th and 19th century Scandinavian village, but in reality, changes in rural social structure transformed the system in most regions. (...) These demographic and economic changes remodelled the social landscape of many peasant communities by generating new patterns of social disintegration and stratification. The most important consequence of these changes was the sharper division between the landowning and the landless. Those

families who managed to keep control of their land found it easier to recruit extra labour for farm production from the village landless than from other landowners' nuclear families and in many communities we find a servant class emerging. (...) Structurally the peasant domestic unit continued to be composed of family members and servants, but the relations between these two groups often changed in a way that the census data does not reveal. (...) Numerous sources from the 19th century talk of "unruly servants" or a deteriorating relationship between the farmer and the hiredhands."¹

Arrie and Hörröd seem to represent two different stages in the process of change described by Löfgren. In Arrie, the relationship between master and servant had already deteriorated. In the less advanced community of Hörröd, the relationship was still fairly good. In the latter community, servants were still often chosen as godparents and were often kinsmen of the head of household. The information given by choice of godparents makes it possible to confirm the conclusion put forward by Löfgren. This concerns the relations within the household. We can also add that the relationship between farmers and labourers within the peasant community as a whole also tended to deteriorate, as shown by the existence of a pattern of avoidance in the "modern" village of Arrie but not in the poor and more equalitarian parish of Hörröd. This clear difference between two communities taken at the same date

¹ Löfgren (O), Family and household among Scandinavian peasants, pp. 25-26.

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seem to have been a normal phenomenon. As Löfgren puts it: "the local studies of this process (the change in the relationship between master and servant) illustrate the difficulty in constructing a more general timetable for the growth of social stratification. Some regions functioned under quite egalitarian patterns of social organization during most of the 19th century while others started to stratify already during the previous century."¹ We can add that 1820 represents the very centre of the transitional period.

Conclusions

Choice of godparents appears to be a good source of information on social relations.

Two kinds of record - nominative listings and parish register - had to be linked to obtain the results presented above; these are not rare documents and similar analyses can therefore be carried out for many pre-industrial communities. Quantified data can thus be obtained on some aspects of peasant life more subtle than household structure or geographical mobility. Peasant attitudes in different parts of Christian Europe, at different times, can be rigourously compared. It is already evident that uniformity was not the predominant phenomenon. Choice of godparents reveals that some communities were really open, with a large number of outsiders coming for baptisms, and that others tended to be closed communities. The part played by

¹ Löfgren (O) Ibidem pp. 26-27.

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kinsmen on such occasions was also highly variable, sometimes important, sometimes not. An interesting comparison can be made, concerning the number of godparents chosen among kinsmen in the villages which compose our sample and in the 20th century working class borough of Bethnal Green. In Artois, Tuscany and Brittany the proportion of godparents chosen among kinsmen was always situated between 15 and 50% (including estimated proportion of outsiders). But in Bethnal Green: "nearly two thirds of the godparents (...) were siblings of either husband or wife, usually one from each side".¹ This percentage is higher than all the proportions obtained for our pre-industrial communities.

This calls into question a traditional assumption: nothing proves that kinship was more important to 18th century peasants than it is to 20th century workers.

¹ Young (M) and Willmott (P), Family and kinship in East London, p. 85.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Economic organization was a major variable in the determination of other aspects of the social system of peasant communities in pre-industrial Europe: household structure, geographical mobility and kinship networks. Much is explained by a careful analysis of the relations between agrarian system and peasant life.

It goes without saying that the results I have obtained cannot be taken as representative of the whole of pre-industrial Western Europe, but only of Artois, in Northern France, of Brittany, Tuscany and Scania. One might even question the validity of the sample - seven communities with a total population of 4500 inhabitants - for these four provinces.

The main emphasis, however, is on the relationship between agrarian organization, at the community level, and local patterns of geographical mobility, types of household structure ^{and} kinship system.

It is perhaps more interesting to obtain a detailed description of the inter-relations between several elements of the social structure at the village level than to obtain unexplained averages, even if these averages are perfectly representative of a country as a whole.

The relations between the social classes composing the communities, as described by choices of godparents (vertical and horizontal), are obviously strongly connected with the economic stratification of the parishes.

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The relations between the social classes composing the communities, as described by choices of godparents (vertical and horizontal), are obviously strongly connected with the economic stratification of the parishes.

Agrarian organization certainly explains a number of important differences in the field of household structure. Clearly distinct types of household structure corresponded to distinct types of agrarian organization. The feudal system, as represented by Briec, was an intermediate case. In Briec, complex households were numerous but not predominant. One half of the total population was living in complex households in 1773. The structure of these complex households was in a majority of cases vertical, linking more than two generations. The family system in 18th century Briec presents a number of striking similarities with the family organization of English peasants in the 13th century, as described by Homans in English villagers from the 13th century.¹ What Homans describes is also clearly a form of stem-family organization, households associating several generations for the cultivation of a particular farm. Berkner found a similar system in an area of 18th century Austria.² This frequent correlation between feudal systems and stem-family organization seems to indicate that some of the features observed for Briec can be taken as representative of true feudal systems, that is to say, as representative of the original systems of Medieval Europe. It has been pointed out in Chapter 3 that one of the most important differences between these original systems and the system found at Briec was the level of population pressure, high in 1770 Briec, lower in the Middle Ages. This difference,

¹ Homans (C.G.), English villagers of the 13th century. pp. 214-215.

² Berkner (L.), The stem-family and the developmental cycle of the peasant households: an 18th century Austrian example.

although probably important in explaining differences in patterns of geographical mobility, does not seem to have had a marked effect on family structures. Briec, English villages in Champion country, and Austrian villages in the Waldviertel do not seem to differ in a very significant way when compared to really different types of agricultural organization such as capitalist farming and the mezzadria system.

What was the basis of the stem-family in the feudal types of agrarian organization? The existence of peasant tenures, whether connected with the farming of a manorial demesne or with the payment of customary rent, seems to be a fundamental feature common to all varieties of the feudal system. In a given manor, these tenures were not equal in size. The peasants held these tenures with varying degrees of security, according to the time and place. But some degree of security must have existed, in spite of the uncertain definition of property rights to land, if the system is to be characterized as feudal.

Other types of agrarian system could favour the appearance of a stem-family pattern. A land-owning peasantry with middle-sized holdings is one of the best examples.

One might expect such a pattern to exist among the powerful and independent Swedish peasantry. However, the documentation is not sufficient to decide on the existence or non-existence of a stem-family pattern in Scania.

Two main types of rational economic re-organization of feudal systems took place in Western Europe between the 14th

and the 18th century. The two resulting "ideal" or "pure" systems were described in my introduction as capitalist farming and share-cropping.

This is obviously a simplified model. In Brittany, for instance, the original agrarian system was not the classic medieval manor (seigneurie or signoria) as in Artois or Tuscany. One cannot consider 18th century Brie as the legitimate heir of the classic form of medieval peasant community.

However, according to this perspective, Brie represents what was left in the 18th century of the earlier system, whereas Pratolino and Longuenesse represent the final stage of the two divergent processes of economic rationalization. Rationalization of the agrarian systems explains the great clarity of the results obtained for household structure: extreme simplicity in the case of Longuenesse, extreme complexity in the case of Pratolino. In Tuscany, rationalization implied a uniformization and increase in the size of family farms, and this was the reason for the very high proportion of complex households in Pratolino. In Hallines and Longuenesse, the marked predominance of the simple family household was due to the almost complete disappearance of the middle-sized family farm which accompanied the re-organization of the agrarian system on the basis of very large farms.

It is evident that large farms do not always imply the existence of a high degree of complexity of household structure. In Pratolino, custom seems to have reinforced

the tendency favoured by the agrarian system. In Briec, on the contrary, the predominance of kinship in the organization of large households was by no means absolute and the institution of service acted as a substitute in a fairly large number of cases. This difference between Briec and Pratolino is confirmed by the fact that the degree of prevalence of patrilocality in the pattern of residence after marriage was not the same in the two communities. It was truly absolute in Pratolino, but not in Briec. In Pratolino, there seems to have been a connection between the importance of male kinship relations and the overall emphasis on kinship relations. In Hallines also, where absolute kinship density was higher than in Longuenesse, the proportion of male links was clearly higher.

On the other hand, the clear matriloal pattern found in Longuenesse can be considered as an indirect consequence of the agrarian system. Large farms employed men rather than women. In this case, the pattern of residence after marriage was not determined by custom. This is revealed by a statistical predominance of "matriloal marriages" which is far from absolute.

Another element in the organization of complex households seems to be connected with the type of agrarian system. In Briec, complex households associated parents and their adult children in a majority of cases. In Pratolino, on the contrary, complex households linking two brothers were three times as numerous as complex households combining two adult generations. Differences between the mezzadria system and the feudal system seem to explain why the position of old

people within complex households was not the same in Briec as in Pratolino. The position of old people seems to be connected with the pattern of group mobility. Complex households were very mobile in Pratolino, but very stable in Briec. Only simple family households were mobile in Briec, and this accounts for the generally high level of group-mobility in the Breton parish. This reflects a fundamental difference between the agrarian systems found in Briec and in Pratolino. In Pratolino, all households were considered as equivalent, whereas in Briec large households efficient enough to cultivate large farms were somehow privileged by the landlord. Poverty and backwardness of agricultural techniques were certainly more common in Brittany than in Tuscany. In Briec, the landlord could not afford to get rid of a well-organized and efficient household.

Mobile complex family households may have had a tendency to abandon old people. This seems to be the significance of the rise in geographical mobility after the age of fifty in Tuscany. This hypothesis is a little uncertain. Detailed information on mortality quotients, not available in the present state of research, might strengthen or weaken it. It is possible that the relative unimportance of old people in complex households in Pratolino, and in the kin-network generally, was due to high mortality quotients beyond a certain age, rather than to higher rates of mobility. However, overall death-rates in Briec in the 18th century were very high, probably higher than in Tuscany, and this did not

prevent the formation of predominantly multi-generational complex households. In Briec, large households, which did not form a majority of the total number of households, were stationary. The stability of these complex households meant that no occasion arose to get rid of the less productive old people. Besides, in a family stationary over a long period of time, the oldest male person is likely to be the nominal tenant of the holding. Stability of tenure must strengthen the position of the members of the older generation.

It is more difficult to know what the real situation was in Sweden: were households simple or complex? All depends on the definition of the household which we choose. Should retired parents be considered as part of their children's household or as a separate family? In fact the documents do not even make it possible to tell which definition was applied in the taking of the census. Incidentally, this uncertainty reminds us that quantification is perfectly meaningless if the units we are counting have not been defined with sufficient rigour.

The rates of mobility in Arrie and Hörröd might provide an answer. The population of Arrie was so mobile (22% of the husbands and wives present in 1818 had not been born in the parish) that the formation of a large proportion of vertically extended family households (3 generations) was theoretically impossible. Married children did not live in their parents' village. One might point out that the parents could follow their sons and daughters and also

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leave their place of birth. But extended family households formed in this way could not be considered as stem-families and would not fit in with the model usually proposed to describe the traditional Swedish peasant family. They would have nothing to do with the transmission of property. The presence in Arrie of a fair number of tenant farmers - stable tenant farmers - also explains why the number of extended families must have been low in any case: stem-families should be connected - in most cases - with the existence of farms owned by the peasants or at least held for several generations by the same family (feudal tenure).

It seems that the "modern" community of Arrie had many points in common with Longuenesse, Hallines and Wisques: household structure (probably), mobility pattern.

In Höröd, extended and multiple family households were not very numerous either. But for this parish the ambiguity will remain: the level of mobility was not high enough to imply a low number of three-generation households. One must also note that customary tenants - i.e. tenant-families holding a farm for several generations - were much more numerous than in Arrie. In this case, the traditional Swedish retirement system could have existed. We do not know therefore whether the small proportion of three-generation households described in the listing really implied that stem-families were rare.

In Chapter 3, a clear relation between agrarian system and geographical mobility emerged. Instability of tenure, common to the mezzadria and to the small holdings of Briec - in a period of high population pressure - was responsible

for "group-mobility". On the other hand, the institution of service, itself connected with inequalities in the size of farms, with variations in the fertility of married couples and with the developmental cycle of the family, was the cause of individual mobility.

- in Longuenesse, Arrie and Hörröd individual mobility was predominant and corresponded to a particular period in the life cycle. It is interesting to note the resemblance in this respect between the two "modern" systems described as 'capitalist farming' and 'middle peasantry'. In both Longuenesse and Arrie, two categories of peasants existed, farmers and labourers, and this accounts for most of the similarities.

- in Pratolino, the prevailing pattern of group-mobility affected all ages. Some individual mobility of young women could be found.

- in Briec, individual and group-mobility both existed. Only simple family households were mobile.

The fact that peasant holdings were not equal in size as in Pratolino explains the importance of service as an institution in Brittany. In Pratolino, the relatively even distribution of the land among the poderi meant that exchanges of children between small peasants, holding too little land, and big farmers, holding too much for the labour force of their own family, were not necessary.

We must consider the difference between individual and group-mobility as fundamental. Artois and Scania fall into the same category; Tuscany and Briec into another. Stability

was not a characteristic of the peasantry in pre-industrial Europe. But we can also note that instability, i.e. group-mobility, was typical of the less advanced and developed regions, Brittany and Tuscany. There was a connection between backwardness of agricultural techniques and unstable peasant families. In Sweden and Northern France, we find a mobile population but also stable farmers. Stability must have been a necessary condition of agricultural improvements. This does not apply, of course, to labourers' families. But these do not seem to have been mobile either, as might have been expected.

Kinship density, whether absolute or relative, does not provide such clear answers, does not establish obvious differences between capitalist farming and share-cropping.

No final conclusion can be given on the basis of these partial results, on the relative lack of sensitivity of kinship density as a variable. But it can already be said that this lack of sensitivity does not mean that the variable was independent of the agrarian system. The kinship network was determined by geographical mobility and, to a lesser extent, by demographic rates. Geographical mobility itself was strongly connected with two aspects of the agrarian system, service and the degree of security of tenure. The relationship between agrarian system and kinship density is simply more remote because it passes through the set of variables described as geographical mobility.

This relationship was not perfect: village size probably interfered as an independent factor acting on geographical

mobility and the marriage pattern.

It must always be borne in mind that the variations of kin-density within one type of agrarian system can be wider than the variations between communities representative of two types of agrarian system. This is not true of geographical mobility.

Kinship density was almost the same in Longuenesse and in Pratolino although geographical mobility patterns were very different. This is the key-question. Two different processes can lead to the same result. In other words, the pattern of geographical mobility makes it possible to guess at kin-density, but kin-density does not make it possible to make a prediction as to the type of geographical mobility.

Kinship density is perhaps too rough, too composite, as an index to be really significant. It is interesting to note that the results obtained for particular types of kinship links: vertical/lateral; male/female; internal/external, are often easier to interpret and lead to safer conclusions than overall kinship density. There is a formal analogy between kinship density and mean household size as both are too composite and combine too many different elements to lead to evident conclusions. Mean household size in Briec in 1773 was 5.6 and in Longuenesse in 1778 it was 5.1. This fairly small difference under-emphasizes the underlying gap between the two types of household structure represented by these averages. The percentage of complex households was about 15% in Longuenesse and close to 40% in Briec. Similarly, kinship densities were almost equal for Longuenesse

and Pratolino, but the proportion of links between households and within households were very different in the two communities. This was not the case with geographical mobility analysed in this essay as a set of 14 age-specific indices. This description seems to be detailed enough and leads to relatively safe conclusions. The process of formation and persistence of the kinship network - geographical mobility - therefore seems to be more interesting than the kin-density indices which it generates. Of course, the validity of this statement is not general but applies only to this first set of four villages communities. This relative lack of significance of kinship density is also due to the fact that the number of kin living around the average individual, or around the conjugal family unit, was not deliberately planned by European peasants in the pre-industrial era. Kinship density in this situation was an accidental by-product of more important "variables". On the other hand, marriage, land and jobs were probably perceived as essential by the peasants. These had a direct effect on geographical mobility.

Kinship density, although not a primary cause or a deliberately attained result, could have had a real influence on behaviour towards kin. In Artois, absolute kin-density seems to have had some influence on choice of kinsmen as godparents and on propinquity of related households.

Was kinship important in rural communities in pre-industrial Europe? One conclusion has already been mentioned: in Artois and Tuscany, the kinship network at a given point

in time does not seem to have been a deliberately attained result. On the other hand, geographical mobility must have been directly perceived and was necessarily a conscious phenomenon for the peasants. It is for this key variable that peasant attitudes towards kinship are most easily discernable. In Artois, geographical mobility was not guided by kinship relations. In Tuscany, mobility was guided by the kin-network. In Longuenesse, Wisques and Hallines, only marriage may have had a measure of independence vis-a-vis the agrarian system, but even this is not certain.

However, the fact that in Artois absolute kinship density seems to have influenced choice of godparents and the propinquity of related households suggests that kinship was of some importance to the peasants. This was nevertheless a secondary effect. It meant that people had a greater tendency to choose a kinsman when one was available in the village. But in this kind of situation kinsmen were also neighbours. Godparents from outside the village community were very few. Even in Hallines where the proportion of outsiders chosen as godparents was higher it was much lower than in Pratolino. One can conclude then that in Artois kin chosen as godparents and living in another village community were very few. This is true of labourers only. Big farmers, on the contrary, had a marked tendency to choose kinsmen living outside the village community as godparents. For labourers, the bulk of the peasant community, kinship could be important but only when distance was not a problem.

Kinship probably added a little something to a neighbouring relationship but could not replace it. Residence in the same village was more important than blood-relationship. This agrees rather well with the conclusions proposed by Leach in his book on Pul Eliya and also with the first hypothesis formulated by Laslett on the probable unimportance, for ordinary people, of the kinship network out of the village community.¹ But this hypothesis proposed by Laslett referred to England in pre-industrial times. And, as usual, Artois and England fall into the same category. The situation was very different in Tuscany. Distance there did not prevent people from choosing kin living in distant villages as godparents. Geographical mobility itself was guided by kin-networks. Kinship was also used very extensively as a basis for the formation of large households. But kinship, although important, cannot be said to have been a fully autonomous variable in 18th century Pratolino.

This is particularly evident in the case of large households. These were not the result of a free choice on the part of the mezzadri, but were imposed by the agrarian system. However, kinsmen were clearly preferred to neighbours for co-operation within large households. One can add that the absolute patrilocal marriage pattern was a strictly normative feature. When they had to associate with other peasants on a particular farm, the mezzadri of Pratolino preferred kinsmen but there is nothing to prove that they

¹ Leach (E.R.), Pul Eliya, a village in Ceylon; Laslett (P), The world we have lost, p. 117 and note 122 pp. 252-273.

wanted to associate. When left free by the agrarian system to choose the form of their households, in Pratolino as in Longuenesse, Wisques or Hallines, the peasants tended to live in simple family households. The relatively small proportion of godparents belonging to the household of the child supports the view that association in large households was not considered by the mezzadri themselves as an ideal system.

The importance of kinship networks as a guidance system for geographical mobility was a reaction to the economic system rather than an independent phenomenon. The conscious emphasis on kinship ties with individuals and families living out of the parish of Pratolino revealed by the study of choice of godparents, was caused by insecurity of tenure. Kinship seems to have prevented, to a certain extent, the dissolution of the local community. Newcomers usually found kinsmen living in their parish of arrival. But in this model, the importance of kinship must be considered as a "force of impedance", created by the dominant pattern of instability, and reacting against it. It would not have existed in an economic system ensuring a high level of stability. Kinship cannot be considered as a really independent factor in a place such as Pratolino.

The kinship systems of Artois and Tuscany were certainly not representative of the whole of Europe in the 18th century. Both regions were too "modern" in that the relationship between men and the land was a very loose one. Neither the journaliers nor the mezzadri owned the land that they

cultivated. Other studies will be needed before we are in a position to propose a final conclusion on the importance of kinship in pre-industrial Europe. But it must already be evident that there will be no general answer. Many different kinship systems seem to have corresponded to the many different agrarian systems of pre-industrial Europe.

Kinship densities cannot be calculated for Briec, Arrie and Hörröd. But the necessary relationship between geographical mobility and kinship density implies the existence of a fairly loose kin-network in these communities. Thus, in none of the communities studied in this essay do we find a very tight network of blood relations. A traditional picture of traditional society vanishes. Godparents analysis shows that it is in unstable communities - Pratolino, Briec - that we find a large proportion of kinsmen chosen. Kinship was important where group mobility was important. This is not saying that kinship was important when the kin-network was loose: individual mobility also loosened kin-networks, but did not encourage interaction between kinsmen.

One thing is certain: traditional society was not uniform. Several types of peasant communities existed in pre-industrial Europe and no simple model can be applied to traditional society as a whole.

APPENDIX 1Nominative listings: characteristicsA/ Catholic

A minus sign means that the piece of information is not always or never given.

<u>Type of information</u>	<u>Longuenesse</u> 1778-1790	<u>Hallines</u> 1761-1777	<u>Briec</u> 1769	<u>Briec</u> 1773	<u>Pratolino</u> 1721-1733
Kin-relation to head of household	+	+	+	+	+
Children and servants	+	-	+	+	+
Ages	+	-	+	+	+
Maiden name of married women	+	+	+	+	+
Name of household head's father	-	-	-	-	+
Occupation of head	+	-	-	-	+
Address or location	+	-	+	+	+
Birth-places	+	-	-	-	-

B/ Sweden

<u>Type of information</u>	<u>Arrie (1818)</u>	<u>Hörröd (1822)</u>
Kin-relation to head of household	+	+
Children and servants	+	+
Ages	+	+
Maiden name of married women	+	+
Name of household head's father	-	-
Occupation of head	+	+
Address or location	-	-
Birth-places	+	-

APPENDIX 2Mean household size in eight Tuscan communities1/ San Jacopo a Pratolino

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>MHS</u>
1721	40	346	8.65
1722	40	332	8.30
1723	41	336	8.19
1724	41	347	8.46
1725	41	343	8.36
1726	39	331	8.48
1727	39	345	8.84
1728	40	351	8.77
1729	40	336	8.40
1730	39	331	8.48
1731	39	350	8.97
1732	39	346	8.87
1733	40	340	8.50

2/ Santa Maria a Ontignano

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>MHS</u>
1710	33	202	6.12
1721	29	205	7.06
1730	30	210	7.00
1740	30	184	6.10
1750	31	194	6.29
1765	27	187	6.96
1770	27	200	7.40
1780	28	199	7.10
1790	29	189	6.55
1800	28	215	7.67

3/ San Martino a Maiano

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>MHS</u>
1746	27	194	7.18
1756	27	204	7.55
1761	26	188	7.23
1767	24	181	7.54
1776	24	172	7.16
1780	24	168	7.00

4/ San Niccolo a Nipposano

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>MHS</u>
1676	30	229	7.63
1708	27	248	9.18
1715	29	235	8.10
1727	29	209	7.20

5/ Santa Brigida a Lubaco

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>MHS</u>
1770	83	427	5.14

6/ San Tomaso a Monte Verdi

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>MHS</u>
1775	28	208	7.42

7/ San Niccolo a Forli

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>MHS</u>
1738	29	124	4.27
1740	27	120	4.44
1748	30	137	4.56
1750	30	142	4.70
1758	28	148	5.28
1760	27	138	5.11
1768	26	132	5.07

8/ ^{hy}San Adrea a Tosi

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>MHS</u>
1651	59	284	4.81

APPENDIX 3Kinship density in Hallines in 1820

<u>Number of CFUs related to:</u>	<u>Minimal network</u>	<u>Maximal network</u>
0 other CFU	30	18
1 other CFU	15	13
2 other CFUs	23	21
3 " "	18	25
4 " "	3	5
5 " "	5	10
6 " "	1	3
Total number of CFUs	95	95

Absolute kinship density : Minimal : 1.66

Maximal : 2.29

Maximal density/Minimal density = 1.37

The difference between the two is : 37%

We know that absolute kinship density for Hallines in 1820 was somewhere between 1.66 and 2.29. Since absolute kinship density in 1776 was 1.73, it is impossible to say whether density had increased or not between the two dates. However, a definite conclusion can be reached for relative kin-density: relative kin-density was 3.5% in 1776, and between 1.7% and 2.4% in 1820. It is safe to conclude that relative kinship density had gone down between 1776 and 1820.

APPENDIX 4Occupations in Longuenesse, Wisques, Pratulino, Arrie and Hörröd

The following tables present a distribution of households according to occupation of household heads.

1778	Longuenesse	Wisques
Clergy	1	1
Gentlemen	-	1
"Bourgeois"	1	-
<u>Peasants</u>		
Big farmers (Bailiffs and churchwardens)	3	1
Middle peasants (<u>laboureurs</u>)	3	1
Labourers (<u>journaliers</u>)	20	16
Shepherds	2	1
Craftsmen	5	-
Widows	4	-
Others	5	-
Total	44	22

The diversity of occupations is only apparent. Labourers and craftsmen really belonged to a single category of rural semi-proletarians. Most craftsmen appearing as such in the listings stand as ordinary peasants in the land survey. But

a non-agricultural occupation was probably more respected.

A similar distribution cannot be given for Hallines, the nominative listing of which does not indicate occupations for all heads of households. But there is no reason to believe that the distribution would be significantly different. The number of middle peasants (laboureurs) would probably be slightly greater than in Longuenesse, as a consequence of the less absolute polarization of land holding.

<u>Pratolino</u>	<u>1721</u>
<u>Poderi (mezzadri)</u>	28
Resident landowners	2
<u>Fattori (stewards)</u>	2
Secular clergy	1
Others (mainly <u>pigionali</u> , i.e. labourers)	7
	<hr/>
Total	40

One can note, as a conclusion to this note, the very clear numerical predominance of labourers in Longuenesse and Wisques and of mezzadri in Pratolino.

One cannot obtain for Briec a detailed classification of households by occupations. The nominative listings do not give this type of information.

Arrie and Hörröd

	<u>Arrie</u> (nominative listing)	<u>Hörröd</u> (formulär)	<u>Oxie district</u> (formulär)
Clergy	2	3	44
<hr/>			
<u>Peasants</u>			
Farmers (<u>bönder</u>)	22	36	678
Labourers (<u>torpare</u>)	20	64	678
<hr/>			
Widows	7		
Other	3		
Soldiers	8	4	177
<hr/>			

APPENDIX 5Household structureMeasures of household size

	<u>Longuenesse</u> 1778	<u>Trebozen</u> 1773 (Briec)	<u>Pratolino</u> 1721
Mean household size	5.05	5.57	8.65
Mean experienced household size	6.39	6.87	10.05
Median	4	5	8
<hr/>			
Population	333	351	346
Households	66	63	40
<hr/>			

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Percentages of persons living in complex and simple family households

(M.H.S. = Mean household size)

	Longuenesse 1778	Trebozen 1773 (Briec)	Pratolino 1721 (peasants only)
% in simple F.H.	78%	45%	21%
% in complex F.H.	17%	53%	78%
<hr/>			
M.H.S. of simple F.H.	5.15	4.70	6.00
M.H.S. of complex F.H.	6.55	7.15	10.24

Marital status of heads of households

	Longuenesse 1778	Trebozen 1773 (Briec)	Pratolino 1721
1 married couple	71%	60%	80%
2 widower	6%	17%	5%
3 widow	12%	22%	2%
4 single male	8%	-	2%
5 single female	1%	-	-
6 unspecified male	2%	-	10%
7 unspecified female	-	-	-

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